

JPRS-UPS-84-088

9 October 1984

USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

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INTERNATIONAL

FRG 'REVANCHISM' TIED TO 'MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX'

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 19 Aug 84 p 5

[Article by Ernst Henry: "Revanchism in the FRG; Concealed Greed"]

[Text] Much has been said recently in the world about the sharp escalation of revanchism and the revival of neo-fascism in the FRG. Reports of this nature are heard almost every day. Many people outside the federal republic--and, certainly, within the FRG--are seriously disturbed. The Europeans have not forgotten and will not forget what the Hitlerites did on their continent. Memories of this kind live on even after many decades.

I do not think that there is a simple answer to the question about the roots of revanchism: Some say that this is a matter concerning the feelings of the Sudet Germans, Silesians, Pomeranians and other members of so-called "exile organizations." But this belief overlooks the crux of the matter.

Of course, the organizations play their role in stimulating revanchism. Their leaders have loud voices and they are now saying just what people want them to say. We heard this kind of talk many times before the surrender of fascist Germany. But the "league of exiles" headed by a certain Herr Chai is not the main thing. The main thing is something much deeper--the class roots of revanchism.

After all, revanchism is not self-generating and it cannot emerge from a vacuum. It is engendered by something else: concealed militarism. This is the cause of the entire process.

It is not likely that active organizations of revanchists and fascists could exist without militarism. This is clear from the history of Germany in our century.

Who actually put Hitler in power? This has been the subject of hundreds of books and hundreds of thousands of articles. But the accumulation of documented facts only underscores one thing: The deciding role at the decisive moment was played by two strong forces in the Germany of that time--the kings of heavy industry and the influential military group representing the heirs of the kaiser's top officers.

Both put a rabid fascist at the head of the country. Without one or the other, Hitler would have remained a pathological adventurer and an easily forgettable failure. But the Thiessens, Krupps, Veglers, Shachts, Schraders and the I. G. Farben magnates handed him one stirrup while the reactionary generals dreaming about vengeance for 1918 held out the other.

The two already constituted a single group, a single entity, what today is called the military-industrial complex. At that time the term did not exist, but the complex did.

Is there any doubt that something of the kind exists west of the Elbe today?

Only the blind and the deaf could deny this, or those who know the truth but prefer to lie. All honest and sensible people in the FRG realize that the military-industrial complex is alive and thriving in their country in the 1980's.

The revanchist policy is supported, first of all, by those who hope to earn billions of marks from the endless arms race, just as people once profited from, for instance, colonial commerce; for this reason, they are opposed to all forms of detente and to a truly lasting peace. In their circles, this kind of peace is regarded as something like the prelude to bankruptcy.

This policy is also supported by the forces in the federal republic for whom all of the meaning of life consists in the growth of the FRG's military strength, the creation of a new aggressive Wehrmacht and the establishment--along with the United States and NATO, and later perhaps without them--the hegemony of German militarism in Europe. In general, they want what Hitler wanted.

Is this an insane wish? Of course it is. Only people with no understanding of the real feelings of contemporary man can give this any thought. But are there any people like this left in the FRG? Who could say that there are not?

Just let Herr Franz-Josef Strauss (who is, as we know, not only the prime minister of Bavaria and leader of the CSU, but also the chairman of the supervising board of Deutscher Erbus, a firm belonging to the Messerschmidts, and a close friend of the Flicks, Quandts, the owners of the old I. G. Farben concerns and other magnates of big military business in the FRG) say without blushing that there is no military-industrial complex in West Germany. He was the one who once opened the door to this complex in Bonn.

He and his friends are well aware that the military-industrial headquarters in the FRG exists, is being reinforced and is constantly growing stronger, although its functioning at present is much more circumspect and inconspicuous than in the 1930's in the old Reich. This time it is operating in a close alliance with the Pentagon and with overseas military-industrial complexes, but it has essentially the same goals.

"Prussia," French politician Mirabeau wrote at the end of the 18th century, "is not a state with an army under its control, but an army with a state under

its control. Although this is something of an exaggeration, these words are still meaningful even after close to 200 years--if the term "military-industrial complex" is substituted for the word "army."

No, militarist revanchism is really alive in the Bonn republic, and I am certain that tomorrow its mask will slip another millimeter.

This is why the "exile organizations" and neo-Nazis have recently thrown off all restraints in the FRG. They are being goaded, and this throws them into delighted frenzies of shouting and snarling. It seems to them that their time has finally come and they are trembling with anticipation.

As for the exile organizations, many of their members, if not the majority, have never even seen the lands claimed by their fathers and grandfathers, who were members of Hitler's party decades ago and who registered them as members of the organizations. Shouting, yelling and provoking make them happy.

Some of them probably know, deep down inside, that their dreams of the "1937 borders" are senseless and unrealistic. What sensible person in West Germany could fail to realize this? Dreaming about the impossible is not forbidden, but all of them should remember that the practice of throwing revanchist dust into people's eyes benefits only the frenzied militarists who are directly responsible for the Germans' tragic past. And this dust is now being emitted in whole clouds in the FRG.

I lived and worked in Germany for a long time, when it was still the Weimar Republic. During those years I learned to respect the German people for their efficiency, their organizational skills, their ability to build and their desire to learn. Great representatives of the German culture, such as Goethe, Schiller, Heine, Bach and Beethoven, will never be forgotten.

But I also learned to hate German militarism: for its rabid misanthropy and undemocratic policy, for its violent and bloody brutality and, finally, for the amazing political stupidity that drove Germany to national catastrophe.

I hope that the militarist forces in today's federal republic will not drive its people to a third catastrophe, more horrifying than the previous two wars. All of us in the Soviet Union share this hope. We want to live in friendship with the German people.

There is another matter of indisputable interest to many in our country. Is the average person in the FRG truly aware of the threat posed by revanchism and a third world war?

No nationality can go insane. The people in the FRG want to live, and not to jump voluntarily into the abyss toward which they are being pushed by the anti-European strategists in Washington who are stirring up West German revanchism. What do they care about Europe? When politicians are obsessed with world hegemony, the fate of their allies in other countries means nothing to them. Deep down inside, they are laughing at them.

I repeat, I believe that the overwhelming majority of West Germans are reasonable people. We keep hearing about mass demonstrations by the inhabitants of the FRG, organized under slogans such as "No war!" and "No American missiles!" and "No arms race!" Just as millions of my countrymen, I am with them heart and soul.

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CSO: 1807/303

NATIONAL

ROLE OF 'RUSSIAN NATION' IN CPSU NATIONALITY POLICY EXAMINED

Moscow VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS in Russian No 6, Jun 84 (signed to press 31 May 84)
pp 87-100

[Article by E.A. Bagramov, doctor of philosophy, professor: "The Truly Proletarian Attitude Toward the Nationality Question and the Myths of Anticommunism"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in italics]

[Text] The growing internationalization of all aspects of social life in the USSR is having an enormous, constructive effect with respect to strengthening the soviet nation as a new social and international community of people. And the stronger grow the friendship and fraternity of the socialist nations and ethnic groups and their solidarity round the banner of the Communist Party, the more violent are the attacks made on the Leninist national policy. One can clearly see that these attacks are an attempt by the enemies of socialism to weaken the international unity of the soviet people at any cost, and particularly to undermine the love and devotion of other nations and ethnic groups in the homeland of Great October for the fraternal Russian people.

The anti-Russian and even Russophobe bent of many writings of the anticommunists on the nationality question is growing as the unity of the Communist Party and the Soviet people becomes stronger and the role of the Russian language grows as the means of international communication. The most hackneyed myths and fantasies are drawn upon for purposes of defaming the Russian people's historical mission. Most frequently, of course, these involve depicting the socialist Russian nation as a great-power nation and the policy of the CPSU as one of Russification similar to the policy of the Russian Tzars. Behind all this lies a design by the enemies of socialism not merely to undermine the friendship of the peoples of the USSR but also to evoke disbelief in the internationalist principles of the Leninist national policy and in its ability to regulate national relations in the interests of social progress, and the hope of producing a nihilistic attitude toward Marxism-Leninism as the theoretical foundation for a proper understanding of the nature of nations.

Bourgeois students of nationality relations in the USSR essentially ignore those basic reforms which have altered the nature of those relations, and everywhere they look they imagine they see the ethnic antagonism which, in their opinion, inevitably arises from differences between nations.¹ They assert that the motivating force behind the development of the soviet society is not friendship of peoples but an alleged great-power chauvenism directed against the other

peoples and regional nationalism, predominantly with an anti-Russian cutting edge. The anticommunists attempt in their opuses to instill the idea of domination and subordination as the standard for relations among the large and small peoples to counter the facts about the quality and fraternity of peoples which have been established in our society. Despite the rapid development of the nations and the flourishing of their national cultures, the anticommunists attempt to depict the national processes under socialism as the deterioration and decline of the national, as the suppression of authentic national values and traditions. The CPSU's policy of bringing the nations together and of the mutual enrichment of the national cultures is depicted as an attempt to unify the nations, to force the obliteration of all national characteristics. The party's course toward consolidation of the new social and international community--the soviet people--is slanderously described as an attempt at forced assimilation, an attempt to knock together what the ideologists of anticommunism describe as a single "soviet Russian" within the boundaries of our nation. And therefore, they would have us believe, "conflict between soviet Russian nationalism and nationalisms of a smaller order" forms the substance of social life in the USSR. These are the main points contained in the writings of A. Bennigsen, M. Rywkin, W. Strauss and other "sovietologists." ²

It is extremely important to expose the reactionary, antisocialist nature of statements by the falsifiers. Naturally, this requires a scientific study of the Russian people's true role in those historic reforms which have been carried out under the leadership of the Communist Party and which have brought the Russian and other peoples of the USSR to the pinnacles of social progress. In the process, due primarily to the revolutionary work of the Russian proletariat, the Russian nation as a whole demonstrated its ability to provide mankind with what V.I. Lenin called "great models in the struggle for freedom and for socialism." ³

The raising of the issue of the assessment of the Russian nation's historic role by Lenin and by the party has nothing to do with idealistic concepts of "messianism" or the belittling of the historic role of other peoples of the USSR. This is a positive and important task primarily from the standpoint of gaining a thorough understanding of the role of the popular masses in the historical process.

The establishment and development of the Russian socialist nation is a result of the victory of Great October and of basic reforms in the society's economic, social and political and spiritual life.

How do the Marxist-Leninists go about revealing the Russian people's historic role? The principles of historicism, party-mindedness and consistent internationalism, which is incompatible with concepts of racial or national exclusivity, are the determining principles in this work, as they are in other scientific investigations.

"...We are that people," Lenin stated, "which was able--not because of special merits or historical predestination but because of the special combination of historical circumstances--to assume the honor of raising the banner of international socialist revolution." ⁴ Rising to the revolutionary struggle, the

Russian working class accomplished a revolutionary upheaval, the outcome of which determined the fate of all Russia's peoples. Following the revolutionary upheaval it was the Russian people--once again, as a result of historical circumstances--which had to perform an extremely important international mission with respect to the previously oppressed peoples.

We know that while Marx and Engels castigated the policy of the Czarist autocracy, including its policy toward the non-Russian peoples, they also indicated prospects for the revolutionary movement in Russia, which constituted the forward detachment of the revolutionary movement in Europe by the end of their life. In their assessment of those prospects the founders of scientific socialism took into account the revolutionary potential of the working class in Russia, the influence of the Russian people's advanced democratic culture on broad groups of the non-Russian population, and the traditions of the joint struggle by the workers of Russia's various nationalities, which were developing despite the policy of Czarism. F. Engels prophetically stated that following the fall of Czarism the Russian nation "would fulfill its truly civilizing mission for Asia, and, in cooperation with the West would develop its vast intellectual forces..."⁵ In other words, the accomplishment of this mission by the Russian people was directly dependent upon the overthrowing of the Czarist order and the entry of the Russian nation's truly revolutionary forces into the historical arena. Elaborating on the idea of K. Marx and F. Engels, who succeeded in foreseeing the main trend in the development of Russia, which had set out on the path of capitalism, V.I. Lenin indicated even prior to October how great "would be the /socialist/ role of the great Russian proletariat as the main mover of the communist revolution...." ⁶

The October Revolution demonstrated to the entire world the remarkable qualities of the Russian proletariat directed by the Bolshevik Party, its high level of political awareness, organization and steadfastness in the struggle against all types of exploitation and oppression, and its ability to lead the laboring peasantry. The socialist revolution in Russia was a genuinely popular revolution. And it was not merely a Russian revolution, as the bourgeois historians maintain, but a revolution of all the people, an international revolution, which stirred the working masses of our enormous, multinational nation and channeled their energy into the destruction of the system of exploitation and national oppression, and into the building of socialism. The combat unity and comradeship of the all-Russian proletariat--the workers of Petrograd and Moscow, Kiev and Odessa, Ivanovo-Voznesenska and Nizhniy Novgorod, Kharkov and Yekaterinoslav, Baku and Tiflis, Minsk and Vilno, Riga and Revel, Kazan and Rostov-on-don, the Donbass and the Urals--was born and tempered in class battles on the threshold of the revolution.

The Russian working class and its vanguard were able to perform their leading role in the revolutionary movement of Russia's laboring masses for more than one reason, not the least of which was their consistently international nature. From the very beginning the Leninist party "called itself not a Russian party, but the party of Russia (rossiyskiy), in order to dispel any idea that it was national in nature." ⁷

It is a noteworthy fact that fighters in the Lenin Guard always considered themselves to be members of a single, all-Russian organization. Bogdan Knunyants, delegate from the Baku organization, stated at the second RSDRP [Russian Social Democratic Worker's Party] Congress: "I consider every party member to be a representative of the entire proletariat of all Russia. If we recognize each of our delegates as a member of a national group of the proletariat, we shall have to consider ourselves representatives of the Russian, Georgian, Armenian, Tatar (Azerbaijan--E.B.) or Jewish proletariat populating the Caucasus. I willingly reject such a long title, however, in order to assume the flattering title of representative of the Russian proletariat." 8 Lenin rated B. Knunyants' speech highly and advised all the social-democrats to read and reread it.⁹

In recent years the soviet people have commemorated the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR, the 325th anniversary of the Ukraine's reunification with Russia, the 250th anniversary of Kazakhstan's voluntary annexation to Russia, the 150th anniversary of Armenia's becoming a part of Russia, the 350th anniversary of Yakutiya's voluntary entry into the Russian state, the 425th anniversary of the voluntary annexation of Kabardino-Balkariya, Bashkiriy and Adygei to Russia, the 200th anniversary of Checheno-Ingushetiya's voluntary union with Russia, and the 200th anniversary of the Georgiyevsk Treaty between Russia and Georgia. During these festivities full voice was given to thoughts on the commonality of historical destinies, similarity of culture and economic interests, and other factors which have long helped to establish the closest of ties among the peoples.

We know that under Czarism there were not only champions of freedom and progress, but also stiflers of the freedom of peoples, chauvinists and advocates of serfdom, speaking for the Russian nation. The Bolsheviks publicly branded the great-power, oppressive policy of the ruling, exploitative classes and set themselves the task of purifying the Russian nation's relations with the other nations of that odious element which was the inevitable consequence of the autocracy's policy of the domination by landowners and capitalists. V.I. Lenin stated at the end of 1917: "We must destroy the old bloody and vile past, when the Russia of capitalist oppressors played the role of executioner with respect to the other peoples. We shall sweep that past away. We shall not leave one stone of that past standing." 10 And the Bolshevik party kept its promise by implementing Lenin's program on the nationality question. The Russian Soviet Republic drew the other peoples to itself not by force but "exclusively by voluntary agreement to create a common state," in accordance with those principles worked out by Lenin and the Bolshevik party prior to October.¹¹

The internationalist essence of the Leninist national policy is so apparent that even some of our "critics" have been forced to acknowledge it, albeit unwillingly. Yale University Professor F. Barghorn (USA) states that "Lenin advanced Marxist internationalism in place of particularist Russian messianism" and that he apparently "was sincerely opposed to great-Russian chauvinism."¹² None the less, the ideologists of anticommunism clearly falsify the facts in an attempt to show that the communists of Russia are guilty of inconsistency and deviations from that course. The book "Nationalism in Contemporary Europe" by F. Tudjman, which is replete with various kinds of conjectures on national

relations in the USSR and which has pretensions of intellectual depth, even contains two "formulas": 1. Orthodoxy + great-Russism = the Russian empire; 2. Marxism-Leninism = great-Russism = the Soviet Union.¹³

The meaning behind these fabrications is to attribute a "striving for dominance" to the Russian nation, whether it be the Czarist empire or its antipode--the Soviet Nation. And this is stated despite the commonly known facts that Leninism and its organic component--proletarian internationalism--are opposed to the very idea of one nation dominating others and is contrary to the realities of the Soviet Union, which has become a bulwark of freedom and fraternity of peoples. "The establishment of the soviet system in Russia and the proclamation of the right of nations to state separation fundamentally altered relations among the laboring masses of Russia's nationalities, undermined the old national hostility, removed the basis for the national rage, gained for the Russian workers the trust of their brothers of other nationalities not just in Russia but also in Europe and Asia, and brought that trust up to the level of enthusiasm, to the level of readiness to struggle for the common cause," the resolution adopted at the 10th Congress of the RKP(b) [Russian Communist Party (of Bolsheviks)].¹⁴ The Party's 12th Congress came out categorically against attempts to regard the USSR "not as an alliance of equal state units, designed to assure the free development of the national republics, but as a move toward the elimination of those republics...." ¹⁵

Lenin proceeded from the standpoint of the long-term development of federative, autonomous forms in the situation of the multinational soviet state. Only experience and practice, Lenin believed, could provide a definite answer to the question of whether specific forms of statehood would whither away. This position taken by the leader also no doubt reflected his general view of national policy as an aspect of the party's work which does not tolerate haste or bureaucratic administration, but requires special flexibility, patience and caution, and real bolshevist tact.

The development of the multinational soviet state opened up enormous possibilities for soviet federalism. As the May 1977 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee stressed, "The main features of the USSR's federated system have justified themselves entirely." ¹⁶ The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics created by Lenin's genius still constitutes the most viable and perfect structure for the multinational state. The decree passed by the CPSU Central Committee on the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics stated that "The USSR is a dynamic and effective form of state unification of the soviet nations and ethnic groups, designed for the entire historical period of the gradual development of socialist statehood into communist, public self-government." ¹⁷

Lenin pointed out that internationalism must consist not merely of the observance of formal equality of nations, but also of the implementation of a course toward equalization of the actual level of development of the nations, which would make it possible to compensate for the historically developed inequality. "He who does not understand this," Lenin stressed, "does not understand the true proletarian attitude toward the nationality question...." ¹⁸

Workers of the central oblasts had to endure major deprivations and even make sacrifices for the sake of accomplishing that task. And the Russian people voluntarily made those sacrifices for the sake of friendship of peoples, which gained for them the infinite love and respect of all peoples of the USSR.

Accepting the Lenin party's program on the national question as their own vital cause, the working class of our nation's more highly developed central oblasts rose above considerations of immediate economic benefits, which could have been produced by using available personnel and funds to meet the immediate developmental needs of those oblasts. It proceeded primarily from principled political, social and economic considerations--the need to turn a nation, backward in the past, into an advanced industrial-kolkhoz power, to strengthen friendship of peoples and build up our nation's defense capability. Factories and plants were built for processing local raw materials, prospecting was initiated for purposes of setting up new production branches, entire enterprises were moved from the central oblasts to the national regions, and the young soviet national republics were provided with skilled workers and specialists. Universities and scientific centers, concentrated up to that time in the largest cities in the European part of the nation, sent many subdivisions and their best specialists to Central Asia, Kazakhstan and the Transcaucasus. And it was not a matter of surpluses, but of doing what was essential for the development of the central regions themselves.

This policy justified itself not only in the political respect, but economically as well. Elimination of the backwardness of the national outskirts, inherited from the Czarist system, and the elimination of the economic inequality of the republics and oblasts made it possible to increase each republic's contribution to the "common part" and created a unified national economic complex, which provided the foundation for the economic prospering of the nation as a whole and of each republic individually, and assured that the USSR would continue to grow stronger. The training and indoctrination of national personnel in the republics was of considerable importance, and an enormous amount of credit goes to the Russian working class for this as well.

The CPSU's national policy during the period of socialist development consisted in eliminating the actual inequality of nations, which required priority development of the nation's previously backward national outskirts. A system of measures were implemented for this purpose, which included accelerated improvement of the standard of living of the population in the national outskirts, their exemption from payment of taxes, regulation of the pricing policy for manufactured and agricultural goods, the transferring of a part of the funds of the nation's more highly developed regions to meet the needs of economic and cultural development in the national regions.

The tasks involved in the nation's socialist industrialization required that full use be made of natural resources, that industry be moved to the sources of raw materials and that the economies of the national regions be improved. And this meant that along with preserving and developing existing economic ties, it would be necessary to break up the old distribution of production forces existing in prerevolutionary Russia and redistribute them entirely.

The creation of a second coal and metalurgical base in the eastern part of the nation (the Urals, Siberia, Kazakhstan and Central Asia) was an important component of that project.

The assertions of the ideologists of anticommunism about the colonization of the national outskirts which, they allege, Soviet Russia undertook to reinforce "Russian domination" and reserve the centuries-old dependency of the populations of the national regions on Moscow seem so absurd in view of this! "The Kazakh people," D.A. Kunayev, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan, underscored at the June 1983 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, "defined their relations with the great Russian people once and for all a quarter of a millenium ago, when they joined Russia absolutely voluntarily. Great October and the soviet era have secured our fraternity for ever. And there is nothing in the world which can ever undermine that faternity!" 19

The strengthening of the Soviet Nation economically and the fraternal friendship of peoples were extremely important factors determining the soviet people's victory over German fascism during the Great Patriotic War. In that difficult hour the peoples of the USSR rallied round the Communist Party, round the Russian people, and defeated the enemy. This was another remarkable triumph for socialism and proletarian internationalism.

The superiority of the ideology of friendship and fraternity of peoples over the ideology of racism and chauvinism is being revealed with new force at the threshold of the 40th anniversary of the soviet people's victory in the Great Patriotic War.

The decree passed by the CPSU Central Committee on the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics states that "history has not known another state which has done so much within such a short period of time for all-around development of nations and ethnic groups as the USSR, the socialist homeland of all our peoples.... The peoples of the Soviet Nation have become convinced by their own experience that their unification into a single alliance makes them stronger and accelerates their social and economic development."

In the six decades of the USSR's existence its portion of world industrial output has increased from 1 percent in 1922 to 20 percent today. The economies of all the soviet republics are growing dynamically within the friendly family of peoples. Compared with the year in which the USSR was founded, industrial output had increased 479-fold in the RSFSR in 1981, 275-fold in the Ukrainian SSR, 700-fold in the Belorussian SSR, 414-fold in the Uzbek SSR, 904-fold in the Kazakh SSR, 293-fold in the Georgian SSR, 138-fold in the Azerbaijan SSR, 901-fold in the Moldavian SSR, 688-fold in the Kirghiz SSR, 875-fold in the Tajik SSR, 1007-fold in the Armenian SSR, and 206-fold in the Turkmen SSR. In the Baltic republics industrial output has increased from the 1940 level 61-fold in Lithuania, 46-fold in Latvia and 50-fold in Estonia. 19a

The building of a developed socialist society has also made it possible to speak of a new stage in national relations. What does it consist of?

In the /economic/ area it is manifested in the creation and the continuing development of a single national economic complex, which embraces the economies of all the Union republics and is being developed according to a single state plan; in the /social/ area it involves the establishment of the same type of social structure for all the country's nations and ethnic groups, the continuing equalization of the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry and the popular intelligentsia, and the establishment and consolidation of the socialist way of life, which combines general international features with specific national features; in the /state/ area it consists of a harmonious combination of Union and national statehood of the peoples; in the area /culture/ it involves the establishment and development of a unified culture of the peoples, socialist in substance and diverse in its national forms; and the area of /ideology/ it consists of the more complete establishment of the concepts of socialist internationalism, friendship and fraternity of peoples, in the minds of the working masses.

Socialist reforms in the area of national relations have totally destroyed the old prejudice with respect to the indestructibility of racial and national conflicts. In the past a state's multinational structure was a source of weakness--and this is still the case under capitalism. Let us recall just the patchwork Austria-Hungary, the ruling classes of which deliberately pitted one nation against another. The founding and development of our nation's voluntary fraternal alliance opened up a new era in the life of man. For the first time in history the country's multinational makeup was turned from a source of weakness into a source of strength and prosperity.

The creation and strengthening of the soviet people as a new social and international community marks a qualitatively new stage in the social and international unification of the masses, achieved in the situation of developed socialism.

It is a voluntary association of urban and rural workers, intellectual workers and physical laborers, of all our country's classes, social groups, nations and ethnic groups, in an indestructible community welded together by the unity of their social and economic structure, historical destinies, interests and goals. Our society's advance toward complete social uniformity is taking place within the framework of the new historical community. The future of the nations, Comrade K.U. Chernenko underscored at a meeting of the CPSU Central Committee's Commission for Preparing the New Edition of the CPSU Program, "is growing out of the objective process of internationalization of public life, out of their gradual but steady equalization." 20

The formation and consolidation of the new social and international community is instilling in the members of each nationality a sense of being a part of the work and plans of the entire soviet nation. It is expanding horizons for the building of communism and helping each patriot to define his place in the ranks of those fighting for the triumph of communist ideals. It is developing in

soviet man the ability to think in common state terms, to overcome localistic or narrow, national sentiments, to give priority to building communism and defending the cause of socialism, peace and security of peoples.

One might ask whether the soviet society's achievement of such important advances in the development of national relations means that the problems themselves are becoming less urgent, that from now on the fraternal cooperation of peoples will gain strength almost automatically, without any special effort on the part of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government. No, such a conclusion would be invalid.

The reality of the multinational soviet society--and we have more than 100 nations, ethnic groups and national groups--is bringing forward new problems. It could not be otherwise. The successful building of communism demands the constant combining of the international and the national, the increasing involvement of workers of all nationalities in the process of communist transformation of our life, of establishing internationalist awareness. The party therefore carefully studies and weighs the place and role of the national factor in the contemporary situation and strives to see that our society's internationalist order affects all aspects of the life of the nations and ethnic groups. The April 1984 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee directed attention to the need "to take a serious look into the substance of the nationality question in the form in which it exists in the situation of developed socialism." ²¹ The problems of national relations which the party and the soviet people are now resolving differ fundamentally from those with which the exploitative states are dealing, of course.

Bourgeois critics of the soviet nationality policy find themselves in a difficult situation. They are unable to hush up the enormous progress made by the peoples of the USSR under socialism. "The Soviet Union," we read in the book by London University Professor A. Cobban, "is not the Hapsburg Empire with a relatively rich industrial and financial center in striking contrast with an abjectly impoverished agricultural province. Enormous economic progress has been achieved before the eyes of the national minorities in their territories. If the Soviet Union has ultimately proved that it has successfully resolved the problem of uniting the most diverse nationalities into a single, great federation, that success is due in great part to steps which it took at the very beginning to draw the peoples into the channel of all-round industrial development and to eliminate the source of economic inequality and exploitation." ²²

The rapid rates of development of the soviet republics' economy and culture has been achieved in great part because the redistribution of the national income is distributed through the state budget both on a branch and a territorial, or inter-republic, basis. There is no longer any need for unilateral assistance from one nation to another, and there are no more backward national outskirts. Assistance and mutual assistance among the peoples has long been accomplished in the form of systematic, All-Union economic policy. With an economic interest in strengthening the national economy of the USSR as a whole, each nation or ethnic group attempts to make the maximum contribution to the common cause. All-Union management and planning are making it possible to

take an efficient approach to the distribution of production forces, to conserve public labor to the maximum possible degree, and to achieve the greatest possible level of production effectiveness.

As the All-Union programs are implemented, transforming vast areas and entire sectors of the economy, the efforts of Union and autonomous republics, of all nations and ethnic groups, are merging into one, and the material foundation of their inviolable friendship and cooperation is growing stronger. The party assures the smooth and uninterrupted functioning of the enormous national economic system and of each of its individual components by organizing interaction among all the system's components and directing toward a single goal the efforts of the soviet people, wherever they work--at Moscow enterprises or Siberian construction sites, on Kazakhstan's Virgin Land sovkhozes or in the agro-industrial complexes of Moldavia.

Academician A.G. Yegorov states that "Today, we already have graphic examples of joint participation by Union republics in the fulfillment of comprehensive, All-Union programs. At the same time, the party has assigned us the task of further advancing the role of all republics, including the geographically remote republics, and this is important work. As we perform this task, we must make active use of our experience from the past--the construction of Turksib and Uralo-Kuzbass, the development of the Virgin Land and the restoration of Tashkent--combining the efforts of all the peoples for the accomplishment of the current, important tasks involved in the building of communism."²³

The party and the socialist state continue to devote unweakened attention also to those areas which for many reasons are in a poorer economic situation than others. Decisions adopted by the party and the government on the agricultural problems of Russia's Nonchernozem Zone have been highly important in this respect.

The economic development of the Nonchernozem is not just the task of the oblasts located in that zone and not just the task of the Russian Federation. It is the task of the entire nation, the entire party. Naturally, all of the Union republics exercising patronage over areas of the Nonchernozem are contributing to the rapid development of Russia's Nonchernozem Zone with their personnel and funds. The soviet people see the creative force of socialist internationalism and fraternal mutual assistance among peoples manifested in the building of enterprises and sovkhozes with the names "Uzbekistan," "Kirgizstan," "Belorusskiy" and "Estonskiy" on the expanses of Russia.

This makes apparent the absurdity of attempts by Western "Sovietologists" to defame the program for developing the Nonchernozem, depicting it as dictated by considerations of great-Russian chauvinism, on the one hand, and as having the ultimate goal of "destroying that which many consider to be the traditional foundation of ethnic Russian uniqueness," on the other.²⁴ The economic development of this zone in Russia is in conformity with the interests of both the Russian nationality and the other nationalities of the USSR.

The accomplishment of the extremely important tasks which have arisen for our nation in the 11th Five-Year Plan is bringing forward the problem of making proper use of material and human resources. Naturally resources and manpower are unevenly distributed throughout our nation, of course. The bulk of the mineral, energy, water and timber resources are located in the eastern and northern parts of the nation, whereas they are used mainly in the western and southern parts. A significant difference in rates of reproduction of the population in various regions of the nation is influencing the distribution of production forces.

In the agencies which plan All-Union economic development and the territorial distribution of production forces, they also consider the effect of an unfavorable demographic factor resulting from the distant effects of the war. There will be a major drop in the inflow of young, able-bodied population in the 80's. These processes are having their greatest effect in the nation's western and central regions. There is an outflow of the population, especially the youth, from those regions to the east, as well as a migration of part of the world population to the cities.

As the scale of economic development of a number of regions increases, we can apparently expect a growth in the migration of the population from certain republics and oblasts to others. Naturally, the more local authorities concern themselves with living conditions and services, the more stable will be the flow of people to the sites of new construction projects.

The CPSU's course of increasingly equalizing the levels of development of the socialist nations means that the party is achieving step by step the even distribution of material and spiritual benefits among the nation's entire population, striving for a situation in which neither advantages nor shortcomings of the geographic environment, or any other factors could markedly affect the wellbeing of the masses. Incidentally, the extremely rapid development of areas of Siberia, the Far North and the Far East and the attraction of the body of workers and specialists so essential in those areas from other regions and republics in our nation is a result of this.

Because of the increasingly multinational composition of the population of Union and autonomous republics, the party and the socialist state attempt to take into fuller account the interests of all nationalities residing in the specific republic.

Western "Sovietologists" attempt to depict the demographic, migrational processes occurring in the soviet republics as the "russification" of those republics, on the one hand, as an endeavor to keep the national republics under the influence of the Russian Federation, to prevent an alleged trend toward political and economic separatism for them. On the other hand, they present themselves as being favorably disposed toward the multinational soviet state and begin "cautioning" it about the "growth of the Moslim threat," referring to the migration of part of the population of the Central Asian republics to other regions in the USSR. It is apparent from this that the ends clearly do not meet in the "theoretical composition" of the "Sovietologists." They

are clearly attempting to drive ideological and political wedges between the soviet peoples, however, to create antagonisms in their present fraternal relations and to weaken the Union of the republics.

The authors of such speculations ignore the unity of the international and the national in the soviet people's way of life. It has been united by the socialist system of social relations, by the party's internationalist policy and by the commonality of interests of all the classes and social groups, all the nations and ethnic groups. In their forecasts the bourgeois sociologists clearly ignore the feelings of international fraternity which have become the flesh and blood of the socialist nations and have replaced the former national and religious isolation.

The soviet people are not worried about the population growth in certain republics. On the contrary, they are happy with it, since it primarily reflects the powerful rise of the nation's economic level, including the enormous improvement in the well-being of the populations of the former outskirts of Czarist Russia and the colossal amount of progress they have achieved on the path of socialist reform. All of this ultimately reinforces that union which we call a new historical community of people.

"It is perfectly apparent," F. Tadjman falsely states, "that the theoretical assertion to the effect that the 'soviet people' is a historical reality implying that all the nations except for the Russian nation, which is fulfilling a special mission, have already lost their existence as separate historical communities and, having fulfilled their mission, would therefore best disappear from the world arena and breath their last in the bottomless grave of history for the triumph of 'mature socialism' -- that this assertion can only reflect the thinking of the proponents of great-Russian hegemonism." 25

Such concepts of soviet reality are put into play in order to frighten unsophisticated people with the specter of "denationalization." They are imbued with malice for the Russian people, who have done so much and are still doing so much for the prospering of our entire multinational nation and of each people individually.

We can see that in their vain attempts to use history "as a means of settling political accounts with communism" the anticommunists are attempting to evaluate soviet reality with criteria suitable for the imperialist nations.^{25a} It has never occurred to them that socialism is creating a new climate for international relations, one which truly improves them.

"The fraternal union of nations and ethnic groups of the USSR, their joint labor, their progressing equalization and the mutual enrichment of their national cultures," states the decree passed at the June 1983 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, "are extremely important factors for reinforcing the solidarity of the soviet people and for successfully accomplishing the tasks involved in indoctrinating them in the spirit of socialist internationalism."²⁶ It is clear that the Communist Party directly links continued progress for our social and international community--the soviet people--with the prospering and

equalization of all the more than 100 nations and ethnic groups comprising it, with the strengthening of their fraternal alliance, and not all the abolishment of the national-state structures or the elimination of national characteristics.

The all-round development of peoples of the Russian Federation is a vivid example of the vitality of the Leninist nationality policy. Modern sectors of the national economy have been created in the autonomous republics, oblasts and okrugs of the RSFSR. Noteworthy in this respect is the fact that while industrial output volume increased 238-fold for the RSFSR as a whole between 1917 and 1981, the increase was 804-fold for the Komi ASSR, and 3036-fold for the Bashkir ASSR.²⁷ Measures are being implemented toward the further economic and social development of areas in which the ethnic groups of the North reside. It is planned to complete the transition of nomadic families there to a settled way of life by 1990 and to provide full employment for them in public production, taking into account the traditions of the area's indigenous ethnic groups. Where, in what capitalist nation, could we find such concern for the economic, social and cultural development of ethnic groups which sometimes number no more than a few thousand people, sometimes only hundreds?

History has preserved the feat of the Russian teacher in the memory of the peoples of that region. Russian instructors have mastered the native languages of their students in an attempt to gain a better understanding of their patriarchal-tribal culture in order to do an effective job of helping the culture to adjust. The Peoples of the North Institute was established in Leningrad in 1930. The first students from the native population and the first Russian teachers who had mastered the languages of the small peoples, worked together with scholars to produce a system of writing for 14 languages of the indigenous ethnic groups and the first text books in the languages of ethnic groups of the North in 1932. After that the large-scale publication of political, production and medical literature, creative literature, translated into the local languages, was then begun, which contributed to the rapid cultural growth of the population.

Naturally, the processes of interethnic integration have been stepped up there as a result of the increased international communication and of the influx, for example, of people of other nationalities into areas of the North. Certain small ethnic groups are merging with related groups or with larger groups, and peoples combining two or more ethnic or national groups are being consolidated. The number of international marriages is growing. All of this is increasing the integration processes which are the objective result. The soviet people, for whom national and ethnic distinctions have long since lost their former significance as a barrier separating peoples, consider these developments to be natural manifestations of the fact that the nations are drawing together. These processes are occurring to one degree or another in all the nation's regions. They do not and cannot involve what the ideologists of anticommunism refer to as forced assimilation or a course of "de-ethnization." It is a matter precisely of objective processes, in accordance with which the Communist Party structures its policy.²⁸

Abandoning certain offensive assertions (such as statements that Moscow practices colonial oppression of the national outskirts or that national life is "declining"), the ideologists of anticommunism are now increasingly emphasizing

distortion of the processes involved in the coming together of the nations in their criticism.²⁹ Specifically, particularly malicious speculations are being spread in connection with the increasing importance of the Russian language in the Soviet Nation and with the steps taken in recent years to improve the teaching of Russian.

According to the All-Union Census of 1979, around 82 percent of the Soviet people today speak Russian fluently. There has also been an increase in the number of people who do not list the language of their nationality as their native language. This is an inevitable development with the growing unification of nations and the freedom of each individual to determine his own linguistic affiliation. According to the census, however, 93.1 percent of the nation's entire population consider the language of their nationality to be their native language. These include 82.8 percent of the Ukrainians, for example (figure was 85.7 percent in 1970), 98.5 percent of the Uzbeks (98.6 percent in 1970), 97.5 percent of the Kazakhs (98.0 percent in 1970), 98.3 percent of the Georgians (98.4 percent in 1970), and 97.9 percent of the Lithuanians (97.9 percent in 1970).³⁰ The two processes--both the voluntary assimilation of the Russian language and the unrestricted use of the native languages--contrary to the assertions of the "sovietologists," are not in conflict with each other and are not an indication that certain languages are being swallowed up by others. The Russian language has become a reliable means of international communication, friendship and fraternity of peoples. "Why the Russian language?" some bourgeois critics ask caustically as they attempt to detect in this process traces of the policy of forced russification, which has vanished into the past once and for all.

Life itself has provided the answer to this question. The culture of the Russian people played a prominent role in the cultural revolution of peoples of the USSR.

The following is an interesting fact. In 1930, the newspaper KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA, which issued a special literary sheet containing translations of the works of Tajik writers, sent two copies of the newspaper to A.M. Gor'kiy in Sorrento. A.M. Gor'kiy replied in a letter to the editors on 13 September 1930: "It is a great joy and a thing of pride, comrades, to receive an intelligent socialist publication from a distant and unknown region, where a few years ago the Russian was ... an alien. Today in Tajikistan, Yakutia and Karelia, throughout the Soviet Nation, he is the inspirer and the agent of socialist culture. His voice is heard more and more powerfully and confidently outside the Union, on all the continents and islands of the earth, and producing a responding echo.

"I say 'Russian' only by grammatical habit, but I have long sensed and known that I speak of Soviet man, whoever he might be--Uzbek, Tajik, Osset, Yakut or Karelian."³¹

No one has imposed or is imposing the Russian language upon other peoples. In our nation of 130 languages of the peoples of the USSR, all languages are equal and not one enjoys any kind of privileges. The demands of objective economic development and the further intensification of the scientific and technical

revolution, however, are bringing about its assimilation by an ever-increasing number of soviet people. Steps outlined for improving the teaching of the Russian language in decrees of the party and the government are in keeping with this, specifically measures defined in the main directions for school reform and those worked out in accordance with suggestions received from the Union and autonomous republics.³²

The continuing growth of the Russian language's importance in the developed socialist society is also dictated by the functioning of a single national economic complex, by the increased demands for cultural exchange among peoples, and by the nation's defense needs.³³ In other words, the Russian language performs broad social functions, which cannot be confused with "privileges." The very qualities of the Russian language, which have permitted it to play such a prominent role as the means of international communication--its expressiveness and vitality, its simplicity and conciseness, its flexibility and softness, and its rich vocabulary--are, of course, also of considerable importance, however. The beneficent role played by the Russian language and the Russian culture has nothing to do with imposing any sort of standards or values on other cultures. This is what Kirghiz soviet writer Chingiz Aytmatov has to say about those processes: "Internationalism provided the foundation for the process of mutual acquaintanceship and then for the complex interaction and brilliant prospering of our national cultures, which have developed into a single, soviet culture. The prominent, unparalleled, uniting mission of the Russian language and literature, of the entire Russian culture, in this process must be mentioned. We emphasize and single out the role of the Russian culture in this historical process not because it was created by a great people--that goes without saying--but because the Russian culture and particularly the Russian language have served and continue to serve the cause of our common progress and are an essential and indisputable factor in the continuing improvement of the national cultures."³⁴

Life has made a laughing stock of those who have attempted to depict the development and drawing-together of nations and ethnic groups of the Soviet Union as some sort of "nullification" or elimination of national originality. The moral and cultural treasures created by each socialist nation are dear to us for their inimitable qualities. The balanced combination and mutual enrichment of the spiritual values of all the peoples is occurring in the process of internationalization of our public life, and new, common soviet features and traditions are coming into being and becoming established. They are being manifested with ever-increasing depth and thoroughness in the views of the soviet peoples and in their way of life. While the international is incompatible with the national to the bourgeois sociologists, for Marxist-Leninists one is impossible without the other.

CPSU is consistently implementing a course of strengthening the friendship and fraternity of peoples, of giving them equality in all areas of life. This course is incompatible with any sort of coercion or bureaucratic administration in the complex area of national relations. True internationalism establishes a dialectical unity of the national and the international. The national ceases to be something closed off and immutable. It has been subjected to change, like everything else in the world, and it is developing and being enriched with new

substance. As they establish internationalist awareness the communists are combating all manifestations of nationalism and chauvinism, combating the idealization of the historical past and the patriarchal system, and are revealing the commonality of the destinies of all peoples of the USSR.

FOOTNOTES

1. For a more detailed discussion of this read: L. Nagorna, "Proti burzhuaznykh fal'sifikatsiy natsional'noy politiki KPRS" [Against the Bourgeois Falsifiers of the Nationality Policy of the CPSU], Kiev, 1974; G.S. Martsul', "Torzhestvo leninskoy natsional'noy politiki i yeye burzhauznyy fal'sifikatory" [The Triumph of the Leninist Nationality Policy, and its Falsifiers], Moscow, 1975; G.A. Khidoyatov, "Stroitel'stvo sotsializma v Sredney Azii i sovremennyy antikommunizm" [The Building of Socialism in Central Asia and Contemporary Anticommunism], Tashkent, 1978; A.G. Morar', "Otpoved' fal'sifikatoram" [A Rebuke for the Falsifiers], Kishinev, 1981; "Kritika natsionalizma--reaktsionnoy ideologii sovremennoy burzhuazii" [A Critique of Nationalism--the Reactionary Ideology of the Contemporary Bourgeoisie], Kiev, 1981; Zh.G. Golotvin, "Natsional'nyye otnosheniya v razvitom sotsialisticheskom obshchestve i vymysly burzhuaznykh ideologov" [National Relations in the Developed Socialist Society and the Designs of the Bourgeois Ideologists], Moscow, 1981; M. Abdullin, "Bor'ba bez kompromissov" [An Uncompromising Struggle], Kazan, 1982; E.A. Bagramov, "Natsional'nyy vopros v bor'be idey" [The Nationality Question in the Struggle of Ideas], Moscow, 1982; R.A. Salikov and L.I. Kalyadin, "Leninskaya politika KPSS i yeye fal'sifikatory" [The CPSU's Leninist Policy and its Falsifiers], Moscow, 1982; Z.S. Chertina, "Natsional'nyye otnosheniya pri sotsializme v burzhuaznoy istoriografii SShA" [National Relations Under Socialism in the Bourgeois Historiography of the USA], Moscow, 1982; M.I. Kulichenko, "Natsiya i sotsial'nyy protsess" [The Nation and the Social Process], Moscow, 1983, and others.
2. See, for example: A. Bennigsen, M. Broxup, "The Islamic Threat to the Soviet State", London, 1983; "Freedom in the World; Political Rights and Civil Liberties", New York, 1979; M. Rywkin, "Moscow's Muslim Challenge, Soviet Central Asia", New York, 1982; W. Strauss, "Nation oder Klasse; 60 Jahre Kampf gegen die Oktoberrevolution. Geschichte des Widerstandes in der UdSSR", Munich-Vienna, 1978.
3. V.I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 26, p 108.
4. Ibid., Vol 36, p 109.
5. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 37, p5.
6. Lenin, op. cit., Vol 26, p 110.
7. Ibid., Vol 10, p 267.

8. "Vtoroy s'yezd RSDRP. Iyul'-avgust 1903 g. Protokoly" [The 2nd Congress of the RSDRP (Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party), July-August 1903: Minutes], Moscow, 1959, pp 62-63.
9. Lenin, op. cit., Vol 8, p 300.
10. Ibid., Vol 35, p 116.
11. Ibid., Vol 32, p 154.
12. "Ethnic Russia in the USSR. The Dilemma of Dominance", New York, 1980, p 56.
13. F. Tudjman, "Nationalism in Contemporary Europe", New York, 1981, p 214.
14. "KPSS v rezolutsiyakh i resheniyakh..." [The CPSU in Resolutions and Decisions...], 8th Edition, Vol 2, Moscow, 1970, p 249.
15. Ibid., p 439.
16. "Konstitutsiya obshchenarodnogo gosudarstva" [The Constitution of the State of all the People], Moscow, 1978, p 36.
17. "Spravochnik partiynogo rabotnika" [The Party Worker's Handbook], 73 printing, Moscow, 1983, pp 119-120.
18. Lenin, op. cit., Vol 45, p 359.
19. "Plenum Tsentral'nogo Komiteta KPSS 14-15 iyunya 1983 goda. Stenograficheskiy otchet" [The 14-15 June 1983 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee: Stenographic Report], Moscow, 1983, p 55.
- 19a. "Narodnoye khozyaystvo SSSR. 1922-1982. Yubil. stat. yezhgodnik" [The National Economy of the USSR from 1922 to 1982: Anniversary Statistical Yearbook], Moscow, 1982, p 74.
20. K.U. Chernenko, "Vystupleniye na zasedanii Komissii TsK KPSS po podgotovke novoy redaktsii Programmy KPSS 25 aprelya 1984 goda" [Speech at a Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee's Commission for Preparing a New Edition of the CPSU Program on 25 April 1984], Moscow, 1984, p 10.
21. "Materialy Plenuma Tsentral'nogo Komiteta KPSS 10 aprelya 1984 goda" [Material from the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee of 10 April 1984], Moscow, 1984, p 14.
22. A. Cobban, "The Nation State and National Selfdetermination", New York, 1970, p 211.

23. "Soyuz nerushimyy respublik svobodnykh. Doklady, prōchitannyye na obshchestvenno-politicheskikh chteniyakh, posvyashchennykh 60-letiyu obrazovaniya SSSR. May-noyabr' 1982 goda" [A Union of Free Republics: Reports read at Public Political Readings on the Occasion of the 60th Anniversary of the Founding of the USSR: May-November 1982], Moscow, 1983, p 41.
24. "Ethnic Russia in the USSR. The Dilemma of Dominance", p 93.
25. F. Tadjman, op. cit., p 221.
- 25a. V. Pashuto, "Scientific Historicism and the Fellowship of (Muz.)" in KOMMUNIST, No 5, 1984, p 85.
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27. M.S. Solomentsev, "Rossiyaskaya Federatsiya" [The Russian Federation], Moscow, 1982, p 281.
28. "Razvitiye natsional'nykh otnosheniy v SSSR c svete resheniy XXVI s'yezda KPSS" [The Development of National Relations in the USSR in the Light of Decisions Comint out of the 26th CPSU Congress], Moscow, 1982, pp 248-267.
29. Yu.I. Igritskiy, "A Critique of Falsifications of the CPSU's Nationality Policy at the Contemporary Stage" in VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS, No 1, 1984.
30. "Naseleniye SSSR. Po dannym Vsesoyuznoy perepisi naseleniya 1979 goda." [The Population of the USSR According to the All-Union Census of 1979], Moscow, 1980, p 23.
31. M. Gor'kiy, "Sobr. soch." [Collected Works], in 30 volumes, Vol 25, Moscow, 1953, p 201.
32. "Plenum Tsentral'nogo Komiteta KPSS 14-15 iyunya 1983 goda...." op. cit., p 167.
33. Ibid., pp 85, 103; PRAVDA, 13 and 14 April 1984.
34. "K novomu rastsvetu mnogonatsional'noy sovetskoy kul'tury. Materialy ob'yedinennogo plenuma pravleniy tvorcheskikh soyuzov SSSR. Noyabr' 1972 g." [Toward a New Prospering of the Multinational Soviet Culture: Materials from a Joint Plenum of the Boards of Creative Unions of the USSR, November 1972], Moscow, 1973, p 96.

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NATIONAL

CENTRALIZED PRINTING TO CREATE MORE STANDARDIZED REGIONAL PRESS

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 5 Aug 84 p 2

[Article by V. Tsybul'skiy, special correspondent, reporting from Volgograd: "A Printing Plant for the Rayon Newspaper"]

[Text] We reached the Volgograd Offset Printing Plant in time for the pressrun. A powerful printing machine started up in the shop, sheets of paper were pulled by rollers, texts and photos were cast in black, and shortly hundreds of fresh issues of the rayon newspaper ZNAMYA KOMMUNIZMA were coming off the press, sheet by sheet.

A familiar picture. What was unusual is that the newspaper's editorial offices are located 25 km from Volgograd in the workers' settlement of Gorodishche, while the newspaper, like the newspapers of three other rayons that are tens of kilometers distant from the oblast center, is printed there at the Volgograd Offset Printing Plant.

"That's the essence of our experiment," said K. A. Bogucharskiy, director of the Volgograd Administration for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants and the Book Trade. "Instead of being printed at their own local printing plants, some rayon newspapers are being printed at interrayon printing centers, of which there are already nine in the oblast."

At first there were a good many doubts. Wouldn't promptness suffer? Wouldn't the newspaper come out late? And why, in general, was it necessary to violate the principle that "each newspaper has its own printing plant"? In the course of work according to the new arrangements, these questions have disappeared of their own accord. The upcoming issue is prepared, turned over and signed in the editorial offices earlier than usual. And it is sent to the printing plant. A representative of the editorial office supervises the pressrun. Subscribers get the newspaper on time.

Konstantin Alekseyevich showed us a map with little circles of various colors indicating the rayon centers, which were linked by straight lines.

"This is what all of us together--the oblast party committee, the rayon party committees and the printers--ultimately arrived at," he explained. "The system of cluster interrayon printing plants that was developed for us by the

State Design and Scientific Research Institute for the Comprehensive Designing of Printing Industry Enterprises is gradually beginning to work."

Once they were persuaded that centralizing the printing of rayon newspapers was possible, the Volgograd printers started to reflect on what this new experiment promised them and how it could be applied on the oblast scale to accomplish the local printing plants' vital tasks.

And the question of rayon printing plants was a pressing one: the buildings that housed 12 of them were in dilapidated condition; in others, equipment was installed in crowded quarters and contrary to sanitary standards; and in many of them there was no question of any conveniences for printing plant employees. And reconstruction would have required a tremendous amount of money.

That is when it was decided to set up interrayon printing centers outfitted with the latest equipment. The first experience of building such an enterprise in Mikhaylovka demonstrated its indisputable advantages--first of all, for the rayon newspapers' editorial staffs.

The editor of the Danilovskiy Rayon newspaper PUT' IL'ICHA recalls with irony what the editorial routine was like before the newspaper's printing was transferred to the Mikhaylovka Association. How could they get the newsprint, where could they store it, and what would they use to transport it from the storage facilities? If a linotype broke down, he would have to look for a repairman; if the roof developed holes, he would have to think about building repairs; he had to worry about gasoline, paint, etc. The whole editorial staff would have to worry along with the editor, and sometimes editors and journalists would have to act as building managers.

Now the newspaper is carried 80 km from Danilovka for printing, but no one any longer asks whether this is possible. Everyone is satisfied.

It also proved possible to overcome a certain inescapable isolation in the work of the rayon newspapers' editorial staffs. The experience of cooperation among rayon papers widened. Now they prepare joint columns and elucidate the course of socialist competition in a more lively and vivid fashion. For certain materials, such as official reports and television listings, it has become possible to set the type once and supply it for several newspapers at a time.

Granted, the potential of having a single printing facility for a number of newspapers is still by no means being used to full advantage. Thus, the TASS and APN [NOVOSTI PRESS AGENCY] materials that are distributed separately to the rayon newspapers' editorial offices could be put together in advance into single topical units--"Abroad," "In Our Native Land," etc.--and supplied in single packets for all the newspapers printed at the same facility. Volgograd journalists already have some experience in putting together uniform selections of this sort. Both TASS and APN could take it into account.

The Mikhaylovka Interrayon Printing Plant consists of modern buildings, well-lighted rooms, a cafeteria, showers, workers' lounges and new equipment. It took nearly five years to build the printing plant--2,000 square meters, with a capacity of 20 million print units per year--at a cost of 800,000 rubles. But now five rayon newspapers are printed there. An association has also been built in Kalach, and printing plants are being reconstructed in Zhirnovsk, Kamyshin, Surovikino and Nikolayevsk.

"And do you know why it was possible to do all this with minimal outlays," asked Konstantin Alekseyevich. "Five relatively small, broken-down printing plants were closed. Eliminating them freed fixed assets, equipment and manpower. The centralization of newspaper production has also made it possible to make the servicing and adjustment of machinery more convenient and has raised labor productivity."

"Circulation is also increasing," continued K. A. Bogucharskiy. "Since 1980 the total single-issue pressrun has risen by about 11,000 copies. We could not have coped with such a volume with our old facilities."

"Nonetheless, Konstantin Alekseyevich, you are still cautiously calling your experience an experiment. Does that mean there are still a good many problems?"

"There are problems. First of all, there are relations between the interr rayon printing plants and the editorial staffs. The centralization of newspaper production requires strict adherence to the schedule for turning over materials. Just as with any production line, disruptions cannot be tolerated here. Yet they still occur.

"The status of editorial staff employees at the printing enterprise is not clear. It still has not been thought out. And it must be legally codified. A newspaper representative, the deputy editor for production, monitors several newspapers but is subordinate to his own editor only. How can he be held accountable for mistakes in work on other newspapers? There is a need for a special group of newspaper employees consisting of editors, proofreaders and bookkeepers that would be something on the order of a newspaper publishing office at an interr rayon printing plant. And such groups need to be created without expanding staffs. Unfortunately, so far the RSFSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants and the Book Trade has not provided enough help in this matter.

"Furthermore, our method is economical and advantageous, and the outlays are not great, but it works on the one essential condition that machines are available. And we are not asking for all that much--four machines per year for the province, and they can be of any make whatsoever. We could already shift the work of four newspapers whose printing plants are in grave condition to the new method, but there are no machines."

For some years now the Volgograd Oblast Administration for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants and the Book Trade, with the active assistance of the oblast party committee and Soviet executive committee, has been conducting the

interesting experiment of centralizing the printing of rayon newspapers. The experiment's economic advantages and the positive results of establishing a large, well-equipped printing facility for printing rayon newspapers are obvious. Half of the newspapers' circulation is already printed by the progressive offset method. An attempt is being made to work out a model for a universal interr rayon printing association that could be used to develop the printing base of other provinces.

Such a serious task and the indisputable successes in accomplishing it require that specialists with the USSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants and the Book Trade and other interested departments pay closer attention to the Volgograd printers' experience.

8756

CSO: 1800/ 494

NATIONAL

MISCARRIAGE OF JUSTICE: CITIZENS' RIGHTS TO FULL RESTITUTION

Ashkhabad IZVESTIYA AKADEMII NAUK TURKMENSKOY SSR; SERIYA OBSHCHESTVENNYKH NAUK in Russian No 2 Jul 84 (signed to press 4 Jul 84) pp 37-44

[Article by N. Ya. Shilo and D. M. Bakayev: "Restitution of Damages Inflicted on Citizens by the Illegal Actions of Judicial-Investigative Agencies"]

[Text] The further reinforcement of socialist legality, the guaranteeing of strict state discipline, the complete consolidation of legal principles in the life of Soviet society, and the protection of the rights and legal interests of the citizens under present-day conditions have been raised to the level of a partywide, nationwide task. This is attested to by the materials of the 26th CPSU Congress [3, p 65], the November 1982 Plenum [5, p 17], and the June 1983 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. Yu. V. Andropov emphasized, "The normal rate of our social development would be inconceivable without the strictest observance of the laws that protect the interests of the state and the rights of the citizens. . . The protection of the interests of the nation is one of the bases of our socialist democracy" [6, p 16].

Large and responsible tasks involving the reinforcement of socialist legality and the protection of the rights and freedoms of Soviet citizens have been made entrusted to the law-enforcement agencies. ". . . The Central Committee," it was pointed out at the June 1983 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, "holds strictly accountable those who have been entrusted with this responsible job, primarily the agencies of the militia, the court, and the procurator's office" [6, p 61]. Inasmuch as the activity of the law-enforcement agencies is linked with the application of authoritative powers to persons who have been brought to criminal responsibility, it is necessary for these powers to be employed with the observance of the legal and moral norms, with the greatest caution and tact.

In the socialist society there can be no tolerance of the situation in which the dignity, honor, and rights of innocent citizens are encroached upon. "Any attempts to deviate from the law," it was emphasized at the 24th CPSU Congress, "or to bypass it, whatever their motivation may be, cannot be tolerated. Nor can the violations of the rights of the individual, or any encroachment upon the dignity of the citizens, be tolerated" [4, p 81]. However, an analysis of the judicial-investigative practice attests to the fact that, during the investigation and legal consideration of a criminal case, one still encounters violation of the law.

The most serious violations of citizens' rights and legal interests are the unsubstantiated detention, arrest, and sentencing of innocent persons. A. F. Koni wrote, "Arrest is the deprivation of freedom -- the greatest blessing that every citizen can have. . . arrest is a deduction from life, a deduction that no human force is capable of compensating. . . in the event of the injustice of that punishment, it is no longer possible to compensate for the evil that has been done" [7, p 342].

V. I. Lenin attached great importance to the correct organization of the fight against crime and to the protection of the citizens' rights and legal interests. He did not fail to consider even a single complaint about the violation of the law and the infringement of citizens' rights and he invariably demanded the restoration of the violated rights and the punishment of the violators. Any accusation, V. I. Lenin repeatedly emphasized, must be proven. "The only people whom you can leave in prison are those against whom you have evidence" [1, p 216]. Vladimir Il'ich took an exceptionally demanding attitude toward instances of the unsubstantiated bringing of people to responsibility, and especially arrests before trial. "What is the reason for the arrest," he asked, "and why is it specifically arrest that was chosen as the preventive measure. . ." [2, p 244].

The bringing of an innocent person to criminal responsibility, unconditionally, leads to a loss by the person of such moral values as honor, dignity, his good name, and other people's respect. The unsubstantiated sentencing of a citizen becomes not only his personal tragedy, but also harms the interests of society as a whole and has a detrimental effect upon the development of civic awareness of the law.

The number of violations of the law which are linked with the unsubstantiated detention, arrest, and sentencing of citizens is not large in the activities of the law-enforcement agencies, but inasmuch as they still exist, guarantees that are aimed at correcting them are necessary.

The legislation that is in effect creating the necessary conditions for assuring that Soviet citizens are not brought to criminal responsibility without sufficient grounds and they can contend the correctness of the sentence that has been passed, can attempt to prove their innocence, and can defend their legal interests. And if, during the carrying out of the criminal case, an error has been made and an innocent person has been brought to criminal responsibility, the legislation provides for a system of measures that guarantee the rehabilitation of the innocent person. Usually by rehabilitation one has in mind the restitution of the person's good name, the restitution of the reputation of the undeservedly sentenced or discredited person. The question of the concept of rehabilitation, the grounds for the rehabilitation, and its procedure has been studied in legal literature [8, 11, 12].

On the basis of an analysis of the legislation that is in effect, we attempted to consider the theoretically and practically most important questions of compensating for the property damage inflicted on citizens by the illegal

actions of officials of judicial-investigative agencies, and the restitution of the honor and dignity of the citizens who had been brought to criminal responsibility without grounds. If it turns out that an innocent person has been brought to criminal responsibility, the question arises: how does one realistically make amends for the damage that was undeservedly inflicted on him?

First of all it is necessary to dwell on the concept and characterization of the damage that is inflicted on citizens by the illegal actions of officials. In its most general form, the damage can be defined as the consequence of the violation of the legally protected rights and interests of the state, organizations, or citizens [10, p 5]. Depending upon the consequences of the offense, one differentiates between property (material) damage and moral (nonmaterial) damage. The term property damage is applied to that damage that has resulted in the lessening of the value of an economic (material) blessing and which can be computed in money.

Property damage as a result of a judicial error can be caused by the confiscation of property, by the seizure or extraction of it, or by various penalties in the forms of fines or court costs. One of the most serious types of property damage is the worsening of the material status of the person who has suffered, which worsening is caused by the impossibility of executing his right to work because of his being under arrest or being incarcerated in places of deprivation of freedom.

In addition to material (property) damage, a person who has been brought to criminal responsibility can also suffer nonmaterial damage, which, in theoretical literature, is usually called moral damage. By moral damage one understands the illegal causing of psychological or physical suffering on a person. Moral damage is a sense of having been insulted or disappointed, the public discreditation of the person's good name in the eyes of the public, separation from one's relatives and friends, and forced contact with persons who are deemed to be criminals, which contact is the result of the person's having been unjustifiably brought to criminal responsibility and having been sentenced. Actually, such events as the conviction of a person as a result of a court sentence, or the application of a criminal punishment to a person, especially the deprivation of his freedom, do not leave that person indifferent. For that person, those events are linked with the loss of his previous social status, the worsening of his material conditions, the shame that he feels, separation from his family, the deprivation or limitation of his ability to communicate with his relatives, friends, and acquaintances, his enforced inability to engage in his favorite occupations or hobbies, the unaccustomed and, as a rule, unskilled labor that he must perform, and his new and less pleasant surroundings. All these things, without a doubt, lessen the honor and dignity of a person who has been unjustifiably brought to criminal responsibility and discredits his good name in the eyes of society. It is natural that the material and moral damage inflicted on the victim by the illegal actions of officials must be completely compensated.

The USSR Constitution, while reinforcing the democratic rights of the citizens, simultaneously stipulated the necessary guarantees for their implementation and protection. This norm, which is aimed at defending the

subjective rights of the citizens, is contained in Article 58 of the USSR Constitution. That article reinforces for the first time on the constitutional level the citizens' right to the compensation of the damage caused by the illegal actions of state and public organizations, as well as officials when they are carrying out their official duties. In conformity with Article 58 of the Constitution, two legislative acts were enacted on 18 May 1981: the Ukase of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, entitled "The Compensation of the Damage Inflicted on Citizens by the Illegal Actions of State and Social Organizations, As Well As Officials When They Are Carrying Out Their Official Duties", and the Statute Governing the Procedure for the Compensation of the Damage Inflicted on a Citizen by the Actions of Agencies of Inquiry, Preliminary Investigation, the Procurator's Office, and the Court [9]

The citizens of our country have the right to receive compensation for damage in any sphere of activity of state and public agencies or their officials, including the sphere of criminal legal proceedings. Unlike the laws in many capitalist countries, the legal acts of the Soviet state establish the principle of complete compensation of the damage that was inflicted on the citizen by his having been illegally brought to criminal responsibility, by his having been convicted, by having had applied to him, as a measure to discontinue his actions, confinement under guard, or by the imposition of administrative punishment in the form of arrest or corrective work.

The imposition upon the state of the duty to compensate the victim for the damage that he has incurred and the releasing of that duty from the person who has immediately inflicted that damage can be explained by a number of reasons. First of all, it is necessary to direct attention to the fact that the beginning of the sentence -- "In the name of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics" -- is not just a simple ritual. It means that if, by a court sentence that has taken legal effect, a person has been deemed to be guilty of having perpetrated a crime and has been subjected to criminal punishment, that was done by the state in accordance with the right that belongs to it, to deem the person to be a criminal and to punish him for the crime that was committed. Consequently it is the state that must bear the material responsibility, since it delegated to the law-enforcement agencies the powers to apply the preventive measures and those agencies are acting in its name.

In conformity with paragraph 3 of the Statute, the monetary compensation of the inflicted damage is made from funds in the state budget. An instructional guide has defined that the source for the compensation of the damage is the union budget or the republic budget of a union republic, depending on whether an agency of the USSR or the union republic enacted a decree concerning the discontinuance of the case or gave a verdict of not guilty. That means that the appropriate obligation is borne by the USSR or the union republic. As is well known, the participation of the USSR and the union republic as subjects of civil law has been provided for by Article 11 of the Principles. In other instances the obligation of compensating the damage and of reinstating the other violated rights in the name of the state has been made the responsibility of definite state agencies: social security agencies (reinstatement of pension rights and compensation of unreceived pension); executive committees of local Soviets of People's Deputies or appropriate

departments (restitution of housing rights); and the organization where the person who suffered the damage had previously worked (reinstatement of work rights).

The volume of the property damage has been stipulated by Article 2 of the Statute. This includes lost earnings (other labor income); unreceived pension, grants in aid); fines paid; court costs; sums of money paid by the citizen in connection with illegal actions of officials; and the return of confiscated, withheld, or seized property, or compensation for its value. As can be seen from Article 2 of the Statute, the cited list is not exhaustive. The Statute presupposes the possibility also of the payment of other amounts of money by the citizen as a result of the illegal conviction, or his having been brought to criminal or administrative responsibility. This pertains, for example, to instances of compensation of amounts of money exacted from the person who suffered the damage as a result of the satisfying of a civil suit in a criminal trial.

The amount of the earnings or other labor income to be compensated -- as the basic source of the citizen's means of existence, of which he was deprived as a result of the illegal actions of officials -- is determined by taking into consideration any earnings received by him during the period when he was removed from the job, or serving a term of punishment or administrative penalty in the form of corrective labor. The amount of a fine exacted from or paid by the citizen in execution of the court's sentence as a measure of punishment is to be repaid. Amounts of money paid for legal consultation services are included in the decree (judgment) governing the compensation upon the submittal of a receipt for the payment of expenses for the rendering of legal aid from the moment when the citizen's need to receive that aid arose.

A pension or grant in aid is paid to the rehabilitated person by the social security agencies at his place of residence as of the moment of submitting the request. But if the citizen who has been illegally convicted or illegally brought to criminal responsibility is not working by the day of applying for the pension, or if he receives wages in a lesser amount than prior to his conviction or his having been brought to criminal responsibility, then, at his request, the pension is established for him on the basis of his salary (rate) in the position (job) occupied by him prior to his conviction or his having been brought to criminal responsibility. When a pension is established on preferential terms on the basis of a choice made by the citizen requesting the pension, consideration is taken either of the work periods that preceded the illegal conviction or his having been illegally brought to criminal responsibility, or the work that followed the person's liberation from criminal responsibility or his having served a sentence.

A citizen who has been fired from a job as a result of an illegal conviction or who has been removed from a position as a result of being illegally brought to criminal responsibility must be offered his prior job, or if that is impossible (in the event that the enterprise, organization, or institution no longer exists), an equivalent one. Work is offered to the citizen no later than one month from the day of his request, if that request occurred during a three-month period from the moment that a verdict of not guilty went into legal force, or the enactment of a decree (judgment) governing the

discontinuance of the criminal case as a result of the lack of the event of a crime, the lack of a corpus delicti, or as a result of the lack of proof that the citizen had participated in the commission of the crime. The obligation to consider the application and to grant the previous or equivalent job within a one-month period is made the responsibility of the management at the enterprise, institution, or organization where the citizen had worked prior to his conviction or his having been brought to criminal responsibility, or the superior organization of an enterprise that no longer exists.

An entry that was put in a work record book as a result of the person's having been illegally brought to criminal responsibility or his having been illegally convicted is deemed to be invalid, and the management makes an indication to that effect in the work record book. The management at the enterprise, institution, or organization, at the citizen's request, issues to him a duplicate copy of his work record book in which the entry that is deemed to be invalid is omitted. The amount of time during which he was kept under guard, or time spent serving a sentence, as well as the time during which the citizen did not work as a result of his having been removed from his position, are taken into consideration both in his overall labor longevity and in the longevity for his occupational specialty. This time is also included in the continuous longevity if the interval between the day when the verdict of not guilty, or the decree (judgment) governing the discontinuance of the criminal case as a result of the lack of the event of a crime, the lack of a corpus delicti, or the lack of proof that the citizen had participated in the commission of a crime, went into legal force and the day when the person arrives on the job does not exceed three months. The restored total continuous labor longevity and work longevity in his specialty, or work longevity on a kolkhoz, are taken into consideration in all instances when various benefits are being granted to workers, employees, and kolkhoz members.

The Statute has also provided for the restitution of the rehabilitated person's housing rights. The need to restore housing rights arises provided that the citizen had been enjoying isolated housing accommodations, but after his conviction they had been transferred to the jurisdiction of the executive committee of the local soviet or department, and another person had moved into them. The executive committee of the local soviet of people's deputies or the management of the enterprise, institution, or organization return to the citizen who had lost his right to enjoy housing accommodations as a result of his illegal conviction the housing accommodations that had previously been occupied by him, and if this return is impossible, offer him, without requiring him to remain on a vacancy list, and no later than three months, in the same populated area equivalent, fully equipped housing accommodations with a consideration of the existing standards for housing area and family size.

In the Statute it has been specially stipulated that not only monetary deposits, but also the interest on them, must be returned, and not only the bonds issued for the state loan, but also the earnings on them.

The Statute has also resolved the question of the restitution of the titles and return of decorations and medals to the citizen who has been stripped of them as a result of his illegal conviction or his having been illegally brought to criminal responsibility. Paragraph 2 of the Statute states that,

with respect to a citizen who, as a result of illegal conviction, has been stripped of his military or other titles, or of USSR decorations and medals, on the recommendation of the court that has annulled the sentence and discontinued the case, an established procedure exists for the resolution of the question of restoring his titles and returning his decorations and medals. The question of restoring a title and returning decorations is resolved by the agency that had considered the official request to strip the citizens of those marks of distinction. The court that has reconsidered the case, within a period of no more than three days, sends to the appropriate agency a recommendation concerning the restoration of the honorary military or other title, and the return of the decorations and medals that were taken away from the citizen on the basis of an official court request that was made when enacting a sentence that was subsequently annulled.

The reinstatement of a citizen at an educational institution from which he was excluded as a result of his conviction or his having been brought to criminal responsibility is done by the appropriate educational institution in the procedure established by USSR Minvuz [Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education].

It is well known that, as a result of a citizen's being illegally brought to criminal responsibility or his illegal conviction, he suffers not only property damage, but also psychological damage. Psychological damage is caused by the fact that his having been brought to criminal responsibility becomes known to a definite group of people. This discredits the person's honor and dignity and worsens his reputation.

The question of the compensation of psychological damage has been positively resolved in the Statute Governing the Procedure for Compensation of the Damage Inflicted on a Citizen by the Illegal Actions of Agencies of Inquiry, Preliminary Investigation, the Procurator's Office, and the Court. In that Statute, in particular, it is pointed out that, in the event of the enactment of a verdict of not guilty, the discontinuance of a criminal case because of the lack of the event of a crime, the lack of a corpus delicti, or the lack of proof that the person has participated in the commission of the crime, or the discontinuance of a case involving an administrative offense, the agencies of inquiry, preliminary investigation, the procurator's office, or the court are obliged to explain to that citizen the procedure for the restitution of his violated rights and the compensation of any other damage, and also, at his request, within the period of one month, in written form, to announce their decision to the labor collective or public organizations at the citizen's place of residence. If the information concerning the conviction or the bringing of the citizen to criminal responsibility, or the application to him as a preventive measure of confinement under guard or the imposition of an administrative punishment on him in the form of arrest or corrective work, was published in the press, the appropriate editorial offices -- on the request of that citizen, or, in the event of his death, on the request of his relatives, the agencies of inquiry, preliminary investigation, the procurator's office, or the court -- are obliged within the period of one month to publish the necessary report concerning this situation.

As applicable to the instances being considered, special resolution is made of the question that is linked with the consideration of the blame of the person who has suffered the damage. In conformity with Article 2 of the Ukase, the only blame that is of legal consequence is the blame of the person who has suffered the damage, which is expressed in the fact that, in the process of the inquiry, preliminary investigation, or court examination, by means of a false confession, he hindered the establishment of the truth and thus contributed to the illegal conviction or his having been illegally brought to criminal responsibility. No other guilty actions of the injured person, other than a false confession, should be taken into consideration.

In conformity with the Statute, the property and nonproperty rights of the citizens are protected by various means, depending upon the nature of the right that has been violated and the violations that have been made. The instructional guide regulates which agencies, in which procedure, and within what deadlines are obliged to consider the demands of the injured parties.

The right to compensation of damages arises whenever the illegality of the actions taken by appropriate officials has been confirmed by the rendering of a verdict of not guilty, by the discontinuance of the criminal case as a result of the lack of the event of the crime, the lack of a corpus delicti, or the lack of proof that the injured person had participated in the crime, and also by the discontinuance of a case involving administrative offenses. The agency that made the decision to discontinue the case in the stage of inquiry or preliminary investigation sends a notification, and the court sends a copy of the verdict of not guilty that has gone into legal force or the decree (judgment) concerning the discontinuance of the case no later than three days to the person who has the right for compensation of the damage and the restitution of other rights, together with a notification concerning the procedure for the carrying out of those rights. The extent of the monetary compensation to be paid -- wages, other labor income, fines and other monetary exactions -- is established by the agencies of inquiry, preliminary investigation, the procurator's office, or by the court within one month after the day that the citizen makes application, and the appropriate decree (judgment) is enacted to that effect. Also, if it is a matter of the inflicting of damages by the illegal actions of legal agencies, the establishment of the extent of the compensation is always within the competency of the court that considered the case in the first instance, irrespective of the stage at which it was discontinued. A special procedure has also been established for appealing the decrees (judgments) concerning the amount of damages to be compensated. Appeals are made to the appropriate procurator or to a superior court. The appeal is made in the procedure and within the deadlines that have been established by criminal-proceedings legislation and by the legislation that governs administrative offenses.

The financial agency, on the basis of the submitted decree (judgment) issues a check which is to be paid by a branch of Gosbank. The unpaid pension is paid to the injured person by the social security agencies, which also handle the corresponding settlement. Property that has been confiscated, withheld, or seized is returned to the citizen in kind. The agencies that enacted the decree concerning the withholding of the property or its seizure, must return it if they have the property in their possession, or must take steps to have it returned by those organizations or persons to whom that property was

transferred for storage. If it is impossible to return the property in kind, its value is compensated by the financial agencies. In accordance with the Statute (paragraph 3), the financial agencies are obliged, in all instances falling under the effect of the ukase, to pay the injured person the value of the property, irrespective of the reasons for its having been withheld or the reasons why it is impossible to return it: whether that impossibility is the result of circumstances of an objective nature (perishable objects have been destroyed; property that has been taken out of circulation cannot be returned; etc.) or of a subjective nature (the person to whom the property was given to ensure its being kept intact is guilty of having destroyed it or having sold it). The Statute lists the instances when the injured person has the right to take court action if his demands have not been satisfied or if he does agree with the decision that has been made.

In paragraph 12 of the Statute it is indicated that, if the requirement for the restitution of the labor, pension, and housing rights, and also the return of property or its value, is not satisfied, or if the citizen does not agree with the decision that has been made, he has the right to initiate court action. He can initiate a suit with the choice of the plaintiff: either at his place of residence, or at the place of residence of the defendant. In such instances the two sides in cases of this category do not have to pay any court costs.

In the event that the injured person has died, the right to receive compensation for the damages in the form of his earnings or other labor income of which he was deprived as a result of the illegal actions of officials, the property that was confiscated or converted to state income by the court, the property that was withheld by the agencies of inquiry or preliminary investigation, as well as the property that was seized, and any other monetary funds is passed on to his heirs.

The right for the injured person to receive compensation for a pension or grant in aid that was not received by him, the payment of which was stopped as a result of the illegal deprivation of his freedom, transfers in the event of his death to those members of his family who belong in that group of persons who are to be guaranteed the pension in the event of the loss of the breadwinner. The group of heirs, their share, and the deadlines for receiving their inheritance, when resolving the question of the payment of sums of money and the return of property, are determined in accordance with the standards set in civil legislation. In this instance the six-month deadline for the acceptance of the inheritance should be computed from the day when the heirs were informed of their right to receive compensation for the damages and the procedure for doing so.

Those are the basic principles in the new legislation governing the compensation of damages inflicted on citizens by the illegal actions of officials. The consistent application of this new legislation will undoubtedly contribute to the further reinforcement of socialist legality in the activities of the law-enforcement agencies, to the intensification of the guarantees of the rights of the individual, to the more complete protection of the rights and legal interests, and to the restoration of the honor and dignity of Soviet citizens.

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5075

CSO: 1830/643

NATIONAL

LENIENT APPROACH TAKEN IN YOUTH ISSUE

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 4 Sep 84 p 1

[Article by V. Ryabov, secretary of the Kuybyshev CPSU Obkom, professor and doctor of historical sciences: "Persuasion Through Experience"]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee decree on the party guidance of the Komsomol, which was published in the press, not only evoked lively and enthusiastic discussion among party, soviet and Komsomol workers, but also forced us to take a careful look at the means and methods we are using in our work with youth.

Yes, Vladimir Il'ich Lenin was certainly right when he said that "middle-aged and elderly people are often unable to take the right approach to young people, who must make their way toward socialism in a different manner, along a different road, in a different form and under different circumstances from their fathers." Our faith in this statement is being reaffirmed today. Unfortunately, some propagandists (even experienced ones!) sometimes forget that one of the fundamental principles of the Leninist program of the communist indoctrination of youth is maximum consideration for the distinctive features of the development and growth of the younger generation in each specific set of historical circumstances. There is an old proverb that children resemble their time more than their parents. It is important to understand that what was good in the indoctrination of youth yesterday is already inadequate today. Forms and methods of ideological persuasion are becoming outdated and must be updated. The entire comprehensive approach to the development of the young individual requires improvement, and all types of conventionalism and formalism must be eradicated.

The dialectical patterns of indoctrination are complex. One of the reasons is that we who are teaching the young are, unfortunately, not getting any younger. Each year of our lives separates us from the people we are teaching, and we quite naturally find it increasingly difficult to "feel comfortable" with the beliefs, feelings and desires of our sons and grandsons. Not everyone is fortunate enough to maintain the youthful spirit which Ye. D. Stasova admired so much in Lenin, the youth which helped Il'ich to understand young people perfectly and to know what interested them. Obviously, this knowledge stemmed not only from Vladimir Il'ich's own personality, but also from his constant meetings with young people--both private and public. We, on the other hand,

quite often confine our contacts with the young to official channels, although we certainly realize that the development of the young individual cannot be accomplished effectively from the presidium table, from the rostrum or from the lectern. It is comparable to the family situation: If fathers and mothers are comrades and friends, they will raise good children. Conversely, if parents are didactic and authoritarian and if the entire process of upbringing is a series of reprimands, problems are sure to arise.

But if we are all aware of this, why are some party organizations delaying the reorganization of indoctrination work with youth? I remember a frank statement S. M. Kirov made back in 1926 at the Leningrad provincial Komsomol conference: "We are all well aware--we elderly and middle-aged people--that the Komsomol is made up of our successors and that our future depends on the Komsomol. We all realize this, but this is usually as far as the matter goes. When it comes to the party's role in the Komsomol, it turns out--I confess quite truthfully--that we sometimes do not have enough time for the Komsomol."

Of course, S. M. Kirov was not "confessing" his own sin: He is the very one who always had time for young people. He was referring to an extremely important principle of indoctrination, based on the one hand on the party's constant concern with the Komsomol and careful guidance of it and, on the other, on faith in the self-sufficiency of the young people's alliance, faith in its independence and the exclusion of the petty supervision of its activity. The recent CPSU Central Committee decree re-emphasized the immutable importance of this principle and pointed out the need to combine the guidance of elders with the ability to reach young people, to understand their specific needs and characteristics, to be patient and tactful in work with Komsomol organizations and to support and encourage the initiative and independence of young people to the maximum. You remember what K. U. Chernenko said at the All-Army Conference of Komsomol Organization Secretaries: "Maximum conviction, comradely concern and practical assistance--these are the essential requirements of the style of party guidance of the youth organization."

We must remember that our style of interaction with the young represents something like a school for Komsomol members, an example of how to (and how not to!) work with youth. After all, it is no secret that some Komsomol leaders who have experienced the "imposing" style of leadership are using it themselves. Once I asked several Komsomol obkom workers if they had many workers, kolkhoz members and students among their personal comrades and friends. They admitted that they did not, and the reason is understandable. Komsomol administrative personnel rarely go to enterprise shops, field camps, student dormitories, recreational events or dances. Even their contacts with their Komsomol aktiv are often confined to offices and conference halls: If they are summoned by the raykom, it means that they can count on attending a plenum or conference, and an invitation from a Komsomol committee means a buro meeting. Are these Komsomol personnel, immersed in their official concerns, reports, statistics and summaries, the ones V. I. Lenin referred to as "tired" old men at 30?

Red tape in the Komsomol is a serious drawback. The alienation of administrators from the young inhibits genuine communist indoctrination in the schools, in VUZ's and on the job, because it gives formal methods of work and

the emphasis of quantity instead of quality a chance to flourish in these places as well.

All of these are among the most important problems in the current work of party committees. This is why we will be discussing them in the next few days at a meeting of the Kuybyshev Oblast party aktiv, which will draft a program for the implementation of the CPSU Central Committee decree. It will be our job to see that this program does not remain on paper but will actually serve as the basis for effective action. The drafting of the plan for the socio-economic development of the oblast and each work team for 1985 and the 12th Five-Year Plan is now being completed, and here as well the resolution of problems connected with youth will be given special priority.

A particularly important aspect of our present work is the stimulation of the communist indoctrination of student youth: There are 170,000 students of VUZ's, schools, tekhnikums and vocational and technical institutes in the oblast. There are numerous problems here: The daily life of these students, most of whom have had no contact with work teams or with productive labor as yet, is a particularly complex matter. This is why the Kuybyshev party obkom will concentrate on the development of a network of work-study combines, training shops at industrial enterprises and labor and recreation camps when it begins its work on the educational reform. More than 20,000 schoolchildren in the oblast are already acquiring occupational skills and undergoing group indoctrination in work-study combines and the training shops of plants. Some 300 student production brigades, uniting over 14,000 schoolchildren, are now working successfully in rural regions.

Obviously, our ideological influence can only be successful if we are fully aware of the feelings, spiritual needs and demands of the young. Quite often, however, we have only the most general understanding of them, frequently taken from official reports and summaries. Could this be the reason for the uncontrolled video clubs, discotheques, record clubs, etc.?

In themselves, all of these are natural forms of entertainment for the young, but they must be organized skillfully and must not be allowed to develop haphazardly. Where did we begin, for instance, in the organization of the orderly operation of student discotheques? With the secretaries of institute party committees. A single discotheque procedural center was established as part of the oblast cultural administration, discotheque contests were organized, their managers were trained and outstanding personnel were then selected. The results of this undertaking included the reaffirmation that any social development among the young can be influenced by the party.

Regular contacts with young people and with the Komsomol aktiv are already being organized in the oblast party organization. The two latest political days devoted to the specific problems of youth are indicative in this respect. These political days were distinguished by concern for the specific segment of youth, and not by the general approach that was frequently taken in the past. Older comrades--party workers, propagandists and veterans--are spending much more time than before at young people's parties, gatherings and discotheques. We also took a careful look at the composition of the Komsomol propaganda staff: Now 92 percent of the members are already communists.

All of us were young once, but not all of us have accurate memories of this difficult period of personality development. Could this be the reason why we sometimes, from the heights of our advanced age, only lecture young people, didactically filling their heads with self-evident truths instead of arousing their initiative, helping each find a job meeting his interests and striving to be real friends and comrades. But the baggage of truisms is unreliable. It is easy to carry and just as easy to lose. The recommendations, advice and experience of elders are useful only if the young person can believe that they are our sincere and concerned spiritual response to his current concerns and plans for the future. Then concern for youth will cease to be a mere duty for all of us and will become one of the communist's deep-seated and conscious needs.

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CSO: 1800/522

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PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN' VIEWS NEW CHERNENKO BOOK

Moscow PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN' in Russian No 15, Aug 84 (signed to press 24 Jul 84)
pp 5-11

[Review by PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN' of book "Narod i partiya yediny. Izbrannyye rechi i stat'i" [The People and Party are United: Selected Speeches and Articles] by CPSU Central Committee General Secretary, Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, Comrade K. U. Chernenko, Izdatel'stvo politicheskoy literatury, 1984: "The Communist Party Is the Advance Guard of the Soviet People: On Publication of Comrade K. U. Chernenko's Book 'Narod i partiya yediny. Izbrannyye rechi i stat'i'"]

[Text] Our country is advancing confidently under Communist Party direction. The party's political course, developed by the 26th CPSU Congress and defined specifically in subsequent plenums of its Central Committee, is being implemented steadily and consistently. Efforts by the party and people today are directed toward accomplishing such cardinal tasks as activating all processes for perfecting developed socialism, raising the national economy's efficiency, improving ideological work, and further strengthening the Soviet Union's defensive capability and international position.

The substance of the strategy for comprehensive, planned perfection of developed socialism and the current issues of Communist Party domestic and foreign policy at the present stage are examined thoroughly and deeply in the book by CPSU Central Committee General Secretary, Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, Comrade K. U. Chernenko "Narod i partiya yediny," published by the Izdatel'stvo politicheskoy literatury. It includes the author's speeches, articles and reports for the period from 1976 through April 1984.

The book comprehensively and fully reveals a most important principle of developed socialism--the rise in the CPSU's guiding role. The party does not view its role as the guiding and directing force of Soviet society as a privilege. This was not given to it by any decree. This was won by selfless service to the cause of socialism, by a steadfast struggle for the welfare and happiness of working people, and by the ability to develop and follow a policy meeting their needs and interests. The author writes that the rise in the party's guiding and directing role under conditions of developed socialism is a reflection of an objective need for further progress of socialist society in

its mature stage. A realization of the enormous capabilities of developed socialism and a transition to the path toward intensification of the national economy are feasible only on the basis of a firm mastery of science, including economic and social laws, with the most active, creative participation of the toiling masses. Only the party is capable of developing a scientifically grounded strategy and of unfolding and directing the masses' energy into the channel of organized, planned work.

The strengthening of the party's guiding role and the deepening of scientific foundations of its political and organizing activity are inseparable from Marxism-Leninism's creative development. For the party Marxism-Leninism is not only an orderly, integral system of philosophical, social-economic and political views and principles which has withstood a comprehensive test of time; it is also a deep-seated ideological and methodological foundation for all its present life and work. The CPSU invariably proceeds in its theoretical work from real life in all its diversity, and it resolves all economic and social-political problems in an inseparable link with class struggle and with the international practice of building socialism and communism. It is noted in the book that "the experience of revolutionary struggle and the experience of building socialism and communism teach us to act resolutely against dogmatism and ossification of thinking, and against the thoughtless application of ready-made schemes and stereotypes. Lenin emphasized that Marxism is not a dogma, but a guide to action. Leninism is not a dogma, but a guide to action, say the students of Lenin. Being true to Lenin means being imbued with the creative principle which permeated both the theoretical and practical activity of our party's founder. Being true to Lenin means struggling resolutely against any attempts--whether from the right or from the "left"--at distorting our revolutionary teaching" (p 226).

The propositions formulated in the book "Narod i partiya yediny" make a substantial contribution to the elaboration of current theoretical and practical issues of party and state construction, to establishment of a collectivist tenor of life, and to the shaping of socialist awareness. These important generalizations arm the party with new ideas and with a scientifically grounded, weighed approach to contemporary problems of economic and social development and of society's spiritual life.

The idea is developed consistently in the speeches and articles published in the symposium that an integral unity of continuity and innovation in posing and resolving fundamental issues of building a new society was and is a distinguishing feature of CPSU policy in all stages of its activity. The Communist Party works persistently and purposefully to see that the capabilities which Soviet society has today are applied with greater effectiveness and consistency, and that the advantages of developed socialism are revealed more fully in all spheres of social endeavor, and in economic activity above all. The largest comprehensive social-economic programs, including the Food Program and Energy Program, are being implemented. A course is being followed toward an intensification of production and an acceleration of the rates of scientific-technical progress, the make-up of enormous regions is changing, and management of the economic system is improving. Accomplishment of the five-year plan and the rates of our forward progress depend largely on how the people's energy

will be mobilized and their labor and social activeness raised. The slogan advanced by Comrade K. U. Chernenko--"Onward to bold actions from correct thinking and fully armed with experience!"--is of enormous importance for the economic sphere as well as other spheres of endeavor.

Concern for the people's welfare has been and remains the CPSU's invariable supreme goal. The party attaches great importance to the regulation of distributive relationships, to precise consideration of the interests of all classes and social groups, and to the best combination of those interests with public interests. The party directs efforts toward creating conditions which stimulate highly productive, quality labor and toward developing in every Soviet citizen the need to labor conscientiously for the common good. An honest, conscientious attitude toward labor is the fundamental principle of the socialist way of life. A disruption of the principle of distribution according to labor results not only in economic losses, but in moral costs as well. This is why the party does not relax supervision over the measure of labor and the measure of consumption. It directs special attention to see that there is fuller use of the potential of social justice contained in the very nature of the Soviet system--justice not only in distribution in conformity with the labor contribution, but also in each person's strict observance and fulfillment of his civic obligations with respect to society.

Material and spiritual preconditions mature in the stage of developed socialism for the total future elimination of class differences among people. The book notes that "the patterns of development of an essentially and basically classless structure of society within the historical framework of mature socialism, the leading role of the working class in this process, its growing influence on all social groups in our society, and the degree of their convergence are all matters related directly to the implementation of the CPSU's program objectives and of socialism's highest ideals and values (p 281).

A well-conceived, scientifically grounded policy of nationalities is an inalienable part of the party's work to perfect developed socialism. Symposium materials convincingly attest that internationalism is the cornerstone of the Soviet people's unity. The primary condition for success of the party's policy of nationalities is the workers' indoctrination in a spirit of proletarian and socialist internationalism. The author points out the importance of taking timely note of improvements in relations of nationalities and of delving seriously into the content of the problem of nationalities in the form in which it exists under conditions of developed socialism.

A further deepening of socialist democracy is an important direction in our society's progressive development. The broad inclusion of conscientious, politically mature, creatively thinking citizens in the management of state affairs is a guarantee of successful work by agencies of people's authority. An organization of brigade labor such as work on a unified order, for example, proved to be a form of real socialist self-management. The masses' awareness and high level of general and political culture serve as a necessary precondition for the workers' productive use of all democratic forms and standards of social and political life. The book notes that "it is the duty of party committees to constantly seek ways to develop the working man's initiative, to

elevate his role in production management, and to instil in every Soviet citizen a feeling of being a full-fledged proprietor of the country" (p 352). The Law on the Labor Collective opened up new opportunities here.

Building a new world means showing steadfast concern for molding a new citizen. This is impossible without strengthening the tie of ideological and political indoctrination work with life and with the accomplishment of pressing social-economic and political tasks. Just as the party's social-economic strategy needs ideological support, so ideological work itself is effective only when it relies on the firm foundation of social-economic policy. The June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum advanced an extensive program of ideological activity with long-term significance.

The importance of assuring firm unity of the party's ideological and organizational work is thoroughly and comprehensively substantiated in the symposium. This formula essentially reflects, in a compressed and concentrated form, Leninism's viewpoint on the correlation of ideology and politics and of theory and practice.

The key task of communist indoctrination is to form in every citizen a deep sense of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism, a high ideological and moral-political culture, and staunch immunity against bourgeois ideology and any forms of narrowminded consumer psychology. The party's field of ideological-theoretical and indoctrinational work is becoming increasingly broad and its forms are being enriched. The book states that "the important thing is to shift the center of ideological efforts into the labor collective and into the primary party organization. We must completely renounce the inertia which still exists, where all activity at times is locked into the framework of the ideological departments themselves and is replaced by the compilation of verbose papers and by sessions of many hours" (p 469). Diligence, efficiency, and the ability to achieve effective results must become inalienable features of ideological practice.

The Communist Party acts as the political advance guard, the workers' collective leader and organizer; it arms the Soviet people with a scientifically adjusted, realistic program for moving toward communism. Close ties with the masses, the civic activity of millions of workers, and their proprietary approach to production matters and to problems of social life always has been, is and will be the most important source of the party's strength. The party constantly synchronizes its course, its decisions and its actions with the thoughts of the working class above all and with its enormous social-political and class feeling. Heeding the word coming from the workers' midst, from the forward edge of socialist construction, and consulting with people of labor--even today the Communist Party is true to this wonderful Leninist tradition. This was vividly demonstrated by the meeting of CPSU Central Committee General Secretary, Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, Comrade K. U. Chernenko with workers of the Moscow Serp i molot Metallurgical Plant.

One of the most important Leninist demands on the organization of party work is to multiply and deepen the ties with the masses. Strengthening ties with the masses and with all classes and layers of the working people always has

been a fundamental political line for the party. It was this mutual trust which assured the building of socialism in our country. This trust helped Soviet society withstand the most severe ordeals during the Great Patriotic War. Even now this trust serves as a powerful factor in our progressive movement toward communism. Soviet citizens know that they can firmly rely on their Communist Party, tested in battle, and on its Leninist Central Committee under all circumstances. The party is sure that it can rely on the people and on their activeness, which grows from year to year, in accomplishing the most difficult tasks of building communism.

Firm ties with the broadest popular masses represent the life-giving spring which nourishes the party and provides it with a profound knowledge of life. These ties are clearly visible in the very make-up of the CPSU. It brings together the best representatives of the working class, kolkhoz peasantry and people's intelligentsia. The CPSU became the party of the whole people with the building of developed socialism. The book notes that by its nature the Communist Party has been and remains the party of the working class. It is the chief force in society's socialist transformation and in the organization and unity of the popular masses. And while there are classes, while a struggle goes on in the world between forces of communism and capitalism, the workers have been and will continue to be the nucleus of the party which assures the revolutionary-proletarian spirit and organization of its ranks, the continuity of its general line and its ideological firmness.

The steady growth in the size of its ranks serves as clear proof that there has been a strengthening of the party's unity and ties with the masses. But the party is not forcing its numerical growth. The party conducts matters here so that, in Lenin's words, nonparty workers see that "party members admit new members into the party not so that they can use the advantages connected with the position of the governmental party, but so that they set an example of really communist labor..."

It is very honorable to be a party member today, but it is also responsible and far from simple. The book notes that party committees are obligated to raise the level of ideological work within the party itself and perfect its forms and methods. It is even more important because hundreds of thousands of young workers, kolkhoz members and representatives of the intelligentsia are joining the party each year, and each person who joins the party must be helped to thoroughly master its ideological-political heritage, Leninist traditions and Bolshevik ethics. The filling of party ranks and indoctrination of young party members is that area where questions of organizational-party work and ideological work come together.

Primary and shop party organizations and party groups have an important place in strengthening the party's ties with the masses. They now exist in practically all labor collectives. Through its lower levels the party maintains constant contact with the workers, learns their sentiments, needs and concerns, and receives information about the state of affairs in various sectors and about both production and everyday achievements and deficiencies. The effectiveness and style of the primary organizations' work is determined to no small extent by the level of leadership given them on the part of higher

entities. Every party committee must be knowledgeable of the affairs and concerns of primary party organizations. Party committee workers must visit the labor collectives regularly, consult with party members, study the experience they have gained and give specific help.

The party's fighting effectiveness and influence on the masses depend directly on a close tie with them, on the style and methods of party work, and on their conformity to the spirit of the time and the nature of tasks to be accomplished. Leninist principles and methods of work and the Leninist style of party leadership as an effective weapon of our party and as the most characteristic trait of its political make-up represent one of the themes seen throughout the symposium.

The works of Comrade K. U. Chernenko contain a detailed and comprehensive elaboration of current problems of the party work style. The book stresses that the Leninist style is the CPSU's richest property. This style took shape and was developed on the basis of a unity of Marxist-Leninist theory and practice, a detailed knowledge of the laws of social development, and an accumulation of skills assuring the harmonious combination of revolutionary sweep with communist efficiency. The Leninist style absorbed the enthusiasm and optimism of the victorious working class and the many years of experience, wisdom and energy of the party, which posed and is successfully accomplishing the task of a social transformation of the world. The Leninist style embodied principles of the great humanism of party members for whom there is no higher goal than serving the man of labor and the great ideals of communism.

Vladimir Il'ich Lenin with his work style and methods is a lofty model of selfless service to the cause of communism for every party worker, every party member, and every Soviet citizen. He viewed party work style as a class and party phenomenon directed toward protecting the fundamental interests of the working class and all workers. His forms and methods and entire style of party work were subordinated to the chief goal of building communism.

The CPSU tries to ensure that in all its diversity and richness the Leninist style becomes an irreplaceable work tool for every party, soviet and economic leader and for every party member. Comrade K. U. Chernenko emphasized at the February 1984 CPSU Central Committee Plenum that special attention should be given to matters of improving the style of party leadership.

The party consistently uses a personnel policy to strengthen the Leninist work style in all spheres. A precise, well-conceived system is more important than anywhere else in working with personnel--party, soviet, economic. We must strive for a permanency of personnel and not allow either their frequent turnover or any kind of ossification of personnel. It is important to correctly combine experience and young personnel. Bureaucratic administration cannot substitute for painstaking work with personnel and giving them assistance and support. This does not help matters. The really creative people of initiative who are capable of thinking in a nonstereotyped, nonroutine manner and who have the experience and skills of political work must be advanced. Today there is a rise in the importance of competency, purposefulness, initiative, and the ability to resolve any matter above all from a public, statewide position.

The book points out that "a creative approach to matters probably is one of the most important demands in party work. Life and practical experience convincingly show that under present-day conditions it is not enough for a leader of any rank to be only a good executer. Success comes fully only to the person who shows creative initiative and socialist enterprise, who is in a constant search for new opportunities to improve matters, and who improves the effectiveness and quality not only of his own work, but also the work of those around him" (p 265).

The force of a party member's moral example is great, especially that of a party member-executive. He is always in view of the masses and the higher the post he holds, the greater is the responsibility resting on him. The executive who allows an infraction of legality and morality loses the right to lead people. Party organizations are called upon to act resolutely against any manifestations of bureaucratism, a scorning of the workers' interests, or abuse of official position.

The clearest trait of party members' moral make-up is a sense of collectivism in the highest sense of this word and the ability to give their all for the sake of common goals, for the sake of their class and for the sake of their comrades. "Truth, truthfulness, party spirit and party conduct," states the author, "are identical concepts for party members. That which is just from the standpoint of the interests of people of labor and of the majority of the people has party spirit" (p 248).

The Leninist principle of democratic centralism is the fundamental principle for building the party and its life and work. The book makes an extensive and specific examination of problems of an improvement in organizational-party work, a further unfolding of intraparty democracy based on strict observance of the principle of democratic centralism, an active struggle against formalism and excessive subordination to regulation, and the development of every party member's creative initiative. "Experience confirms," notes the book, "that the party's strength and competence largely depend on how consistently and correctly the principle of democratic centralism is implemented. It is this principle which is the clue in resolving fundamental problems of party construction and party work" (p 268).

Great emphasis is placed on a further solidarity of party ranks. Ideological-political and organizational unity based on principles of scientific communism, and not ideological and organizational amorphousness, is what typifies the new, Leninist type of party and what comprises the best guarantee that it always will show itself as a truly directing, organized, and organizing force in the struggle for socialism and communism.

The book thoroughly reveals the basic features and methods of party control and check of execution. Control is not a technical, dry matter, but lively work with people. It must have an inherent dynamism and its motto must be action. This is what has to be the approach to the work of party, soviet and economic bodies and their staffs. Matters must be so arranged that the very concept of "nonfulfillment of decisions" would be impossible. The book notes that

"under present-day conditions the organization of execution, the giving of practical assistance, and the generalization and adoption of foremost experience are advanced to the fore in the very concept of control" (p 308).

Information is an effective tool of leadership. It has to be objective and valid, timely and imaginative, clear in form and detailed in content. The party tries to ensure that the masses are informed about the work of its organization and of party committees at all levels. The CPSU Central Committee informs all the people about the work of its plenums and about the documents they adopt. Information about resolutions of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and Secretariat is published widely and promptly in the periodic press. Such a strictly internal matter as reports and elections in party organizations also is covered regularly. The author stresses that "the party is vitally interested in seeing that all Soviet citizens know about its affairs and plans and take a conscious part in their implementation" (p 242).

The book devotes much space to problems involving the development of criticism and self-criticism in the party environment and in Soviet society. Criticism is an important form of practical participation by broad masses of workers in the management of state and public affairs and in the daily resolution of their collectives' affairs large and small. The book points out that instances of suppression of criticism would be impossible were the party and soviet bodies to make the culprits fully answerable. At the same time the CPSU decisively condemns any display of faultfinding for faultfinding's sake which often pursues exclusively selfish interests. Criticism must prompt and help one to work with more initiative and energy, it must leave people with a feeling of confidence in their abilities, and it must generate a resolve in labor collectives to remedy omissions and achieve the best results.

The symposium makes a detailed examination of such a fundamental issue of party work as workers' letters and verbal appeals to party entities. The CPSU Central Committee and Comrade K. U. Chernenko personally attach great importance to the work with workers' letters and suggestions, viewing it as an important channel of party communications with the masses and as a method of involving them in the management of state and society's affairs. The party develops and deepens its ties with the masses by constantly improving the work with workers' letters and suggestions. Workers' letters help party organizations find and support new things, make a more objective assessment of the work of the party, soviet and management staff, and develop proper political decisions.

The precise demarcation of party committees' functions with the tasks of state and economic bodies and an elimination of duplication in their work is a major issue of political importance which is elaborated in the symposium. The practice of substitution for economic managers damps the personnel's ardor and conceals the danger of weakening the role of the party committee as a body of political leadership. The book notes that "for party committees to deal with the economy means above all dealing with the people managing the economy" (p 416). The author speaks out against a narrowed, formal understanding of the soviets' place in our society's life. The main partywide task in directing the

soviets is to see that their sovereignty fixed in the Constitution is constantly reflected everywhere both in the content and the style of their work. "All methods of party influence on the soviets' work must be used," states the book, "in order to improve the work's effectiveness and eliminate any elements of formalism. This is the order of the day which is placed on all party committees and, of course, on the party member-deputies through whom the party exercises its managing role in the soviets" (p 439).

Party leadership of the Komsomol occupied an important place in the symposium. Comrade Chernenko's vivid speech at the All-Army Conference of Komsomol Organization Secretaries is of fundamental importance for a further improvement in the Komsomol's work and for party leadership of the youth movement. Comrade Chernenko says that "we are constantly concerned with preparing such young people who will not waver or bend under the burden of historical responsibility for the destiny of the country and for the destiny of socialism and the world; such young people who would be able not only to assimilate the experience of older generations, but also to enrich it with their own achievements" (p 16).

The inseparable unity of the CPSU's domestic and foreign policy and its struggle to assure the peaceful, creative labor of Soviet citizens in a complicated period saturated with acute historic events was vividly reflected in the speeches and articles included in the book "Narod i partiya yediny." Concern for preventing war and preserving peace on the planet has been and remains the pivot of the Leninist foreign policy course of the CPSU and Soviet state under conditions of the aggravated international situation marked by a sharp activation of the most aggressive forces of American imperialism.

The book substantiates a need for comprehensive expansion and deepening of international cooperation among fraternal socialist countries in all their spheres of endeavor. They are countering the stepped-up military threat with their own alternative: a course toward a strengthening of peace, relaxation of international tension, and constructive cooperation of all sovereign states.

Soviet party members are going hand in hand with millions of brothers in class and with communist and working parties on all continents in a struggle for a peaceful future and the progress of mankind. Solidarity with peoples who have thrown off the yoke of colonial dependence and who have taken the path of independent development is one of the foreign policy principles of the CPSU and Soviet state.

The international character of Marxism-Leninism and the importance of ideas and principles of proletarian internationalism are revealed deeply and fully in the symposium. A need for an uncompromising struggle against antisovietism, anti-communism, all varieties of bourgeois ideology, and right and "left" opportunism is shown under conditions of the sharp aggravation of ideological opposition in the international arena.

Soviet citizens are thoroughly convinced that peace can be preserved and that the development of events can be turned from confrontation toward detente. At the same time our country takes account of the fact that we have to deal in the

world arena with those political forces which are alien to good will and which are deaf to arguments of reason. Therefore the CPSU and Soviet state are strengthening the might of our defense potential, which is a guarantee not only of the Soviet people's creative labor, but also of general peace on earth.

A number of the book's materials examine issues connected with preparation for the next, 27th, party congress. These are above all questions of a new wording of the present CPSU Program. Comrade Chernenko points out that "a realistic, comprehensively weighed description of developed socialism must be given in the Program. It must reflect our achievements and advantages, and those enormous opportunities which socialism is opening up in the new historical stage" (pp 455-456).

The Communist Party has been enriched with reliable experience of political and organizational work and of economic and cultural construction. All Soviet citizens actively support its policy with practical actions. Herein lies a guarantee that all tasks planned by the party and all goals it sets will be accomplished.

Publication of the symposium of Comrade K. U. Chernenko's selected speeches and articles was an important event in the theoretical and ideological-political life of the party and people. While comprehensively and fully revealing the enormous creative work of the Leninist party and Soviet people, the book "Narod i partiya yediny" teaches party workers, party members and all Soviet citizens an even deeper understanding of the Communist Party's domestic and foreign policy and helps mobilize all our forces for the struggle for the triumph of communism.

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CSO: 1800/515

NATIONAL

KOZLOV BOOK ON DEMOGRAPHIC PROCESSES REVIEWED

Ashkhabad IZVESTIYA AKADEMII NAUK TURKMENSKOY SSR SERIYA OBSHCHESTVENNYKH NAUK in Russian No 2, 1984 (signed to press 7 April 1984) pp 89-91

[Review by M. Atadzhanova, N. Amanmuradova, D. Karly and Sh. Kadyrov of book "Natsional'nosti SSSR: etnodemograficheskiy obzor" [Nationalities of the USSR: An Ethnodemographic Overview] by V. I. Kozlov, 2nd edition, Moscow, Finansy i statistika, 1982, 303 pp]

[Text] The monograph "Nationalities of the USSR: An Ethnodemographic Overview", rewritten in light of the achievements in the methodology of ethnic processes and augmented by materials from the All-Union Census of the Population for 1979, may rightly be recommended as a reference manual for specialists studying questions of population.

The work has two indisputable merits. First, it is extremely informative. It reflects the enormous demographic material from the last five all-union population census, as well as the first general census of the population of the Russian empire in 1897, some of the data of which are also reflected in this book. Secondly, the analysis of statistical material, which is distinguished by its general survey nature, has not made the book a reference manual. The statistical material has been commented upon in the historical, geographic, demographic and ethnographic aspects.

The work analyzes interesting data on the demographic development of the Turkmen people and the peculiarities in the growth of population numbers in the Central Asian region. Due to the high mortality rate, the population figures in the agricultural regions of Central Asia increased at a comparatively slower rate than in European Russia. Throughout Russia and the Central Asian region, the Russian and Turkmen population was primarily oriented toward families with many children. Families with few or no children were censured. However, due to the high mortality rate, a high birth rate rarely led to families with many children. There were differences in the sex-age structure. For example, in the European provinces there were more women than men, while in the Asiatic parts of the country the situation was reversed. The considerable prevalence of men in the Central Asian region in the pre-October period was conditioned by the lack of rights of women in society and in the family.

Early marriages were also a demographic peculiarity of the Central Asian region. The traditions of early marriages, notes the author, have been observed since

ancient times. In the late 19th Century they were characteristic not only for the Transcaucases and Central Asia, but also for most of the peoples of European Russia (Russians, Ukrainians and others). The gradual decline of these traditions was explained primarily by the involvement of women into industry and social life, as well as by the increase in the level of their education. In the republics of Central Asia the difference in marital status indicators for urban and rural women among the native nationalities was insignificant, which testified to the stability of traditions.

The natural growth rate among most of the native peoples in the European part of the USSR in 1926-1927 comprised 1.5-2.0 percent per year or more. In Central Asia the growth rate was significantly lower. V. I. Kozlov, contradicting the scientists who continue to use the **past concept** of the "physiological **maximum**" for their description, believes that the birth rate did not correspond to this "maximum". Because of the prevalence of very early marriages and epidemic illnesses, the woman lost her capacity for childbirth long before the natural limits.

The demographic processes in 1926-1959 were characterized by an increased tendency toward reduction of the birth rate in the European part of the country, especially in urban settlements. This tendency was conditioned by the industrialization of labor, the widespread involvement of women into social production, and the hardships and deprivations which befell the generations during those years. The birth rate declined most slowly among the peoples who had been weakly involved in the processes of urbanization and industrialization (Armenians, Azerbaijanis, Kazakhs, and Turkmens).

The Great Patriotic War sharply disrupted the demographic processes and led to a severe deterioration of the demographic situation. The war losses comprised over 20 million people. The indirect losses associated with the reduction of the birth rate and the mortality rate which was more than doubled comprised around 20 million people, according to the author's computations.

V. I. Kozlov has defined the direct and indirect consequences of the war which affected the demographic processes. Due to the disproportion between the male and female population which was formed during the war years, the population growth rate was reduced. In 1969 almost half of all women of marriage age were single. Only in Moldavia and Central Asia did the number of women who were married exceed 60 percent. However, this figure too was significantly below that of the pre-war period.

As the effect of the war on the demographic processes gradually declined, it became evident that in most families the process of reduction in the birth rate was caused by increased practice of family birth control. The work presents laconic but meaningful explanations of this phenomenon.

While the Latvians and Estonians long ago began having small families, for the Uzbeks, Tajiks, and Turkmens the process of limiting the birth rate was only beginning in the 50's. In the researcher's opinion, this could be explained by a number of reasons, and primarily by the retention of the tradition of having many children. The vitality of orientation toward the idea of having

many children, V. I. Kozlov believes, was associated primarily with the agricultural-cattle raising character of the economy of the native peoples of Central Asia and their weak involvement into the process of urbanization.

The data on the natural migration of the USSR population in the 50s show that the birth rate in the Central Asian region, unlike most other oblasts of the country, not only did not decline, but even increased. In Turkmenistan, for example, it increased from 40.7 per thousand in 1955 to 42.4 in 1960. Analogous processes were also taking place in Uzbekistan. The author explains the reasons for the increased birth rate.

Unlike the European parts of the country, the indicators for number of children in the native peoples of Central Asia were similar in urban and rural areas. In Turkmenistan the child rate of Turkmens in the cities was even somewhat higher than in rural areas. The process of urbanization which had begun for the native peoples of Central Asia was accompanied by a reduction in the number of early marriages in the cities. However, it still weakly affected the traditions of having many children. The people who had moved from rural areas firmly retained their high birth rate in the cities. According to the evaluations of V. I. Kozlov, the birth rate for native peoples of Central Asia in the late 1950's-early 1960 comprised approximately 45 per thousand. In other words, it was 3.5 times higher than for the Estonians and Latvians.

The materials from the past 20-year period show that a tendency has been noted in the birth rate in the Central Asian region which will increase with the growth of urbanization and the educational level of women. V. I. Kozlov quite interestingly develops the notion of G. A. Bondarskaya regarding the higher birth rate level for women of middle age having an incomplete secondary education as compared with women of older generations. This is explained by the fact that more literate and educated [women] are better acquainted with sanitary-hygienic culture. However, V. I. Kozlov adds, an incomplete secondary education at the present time does not present the woman with any possibilities for a social career and or any activity outside the family in general.

In the final chapter of the book, the most interesting section, in our opinion, is the one characterizing the effect of ethnotransformational processes on the dynamics of the figures for USSR peoples. The population census materials reflect a multi-national composition and very great differences in the numbers of individual peoples. Russians and Ukrainians stand out sharply by their numbers, comprising over two-thirds of the country's population according to the 1979 census. Aside from them, only 11 peoples numbered over 2 million, and 9 others -- over 1 million. (In 1926, only 13 peoples numbered over 1 million). Most of the peoples have significantly lower numbers, including over 50 nationalities having less than 100,000 people, and some peoples (Ingas, Yukarigs, Negidals) who number even less than 1,000 people. The author has compiled a table showing the dynamics of numbers of USSR nationalities according to the materials of the population census for the years 1926, 1939, 1959, 1970 and 1979. For example, in the last 20 years the number of Turkmens has doubled, and by this indicator they have surpassed the Mordvinians, Chuvash, Jews, Germans, and Poles.

The non-uniform age numbers for different peoples are explained not only by different conditions of population reproduction, but also by ethnic processes. Thus, as a result of the natural assimilation of Mordvinians by the Russians, the former increased between the years of 1926-1939 not by the proposed 1,650,000, but by only 1,456,000 people. According to V. I. Kozlov's computations, the number of Mordvinians in 1959 should have comprised around 1,600,000 people, while in actuality it reached only 1,285,000 people. The difference between these figures is explained by the ethnic merging of individual groups of Mordvinians primarily with the Russian population. In recent years, natural assimilation has also affected the Mari, reducing the numbers of this people by over 400,000 people during the past 20 years.

From 1959 through 1970, the number of Turkmens, Uzbeks and Tajiks has increased significantly (by 52-53%). These are peoples with a high natural growth rate and weakly developed inter-ethnic contacts. The number of Armenians, Georgians, Moldavians, Bashkirs, Kalmyks and other peoples having an increased birth rate and relatively low losses (or even a positive balance) from ethnic assimilation, has increased by 20-30 percent. On the contrary, peoples with a low birth rate or considerable negative balance resulting from ethnic assimilation have had a low growth rate (less than 10 percent with an average of 15.3 percent for the country as a whole). These are the Ukrainians, Latvians, Estonians and others. During this period the growth rate in the number of Russians was below the country-wide average for the first time. This situation was generally retained also in 1970-1979.

The predictions for change in the numbers of the USSR nationalities are extremely interesting. The scientist believes that the growth for the East Slavic peoples (Russians, Ukrainians, Belorussians) will decline in the near future. This reduction will not be compensated by the inclusion of some other nationalities into their make-up in the course of ethnic assimilation. The reduction in the relative share of East Slavic peoples is explained primarily by the rapid growth of the peoples of the Turkic group and the neighboring peoples of Central Asia and Kazakhstan who are similar to them in culture and demographic behavior. By the year 2000 the number of Turkic peoples will reach over one-fifth of the country's residents (in 1959 it was 11 percent). The most numerous people in this group are the Uzbeks, who in 1939 comprised about 10/17 the number of Belorussians. By 1970 the Uzbeks outnumbered them. By the year 2000 the number of Uzbeks may reach 25 million people, surpassing the number of Belorussians by a factor of almost 2.5. According to the demographic potential (number of children), the Uzbeks may already at this time surpass even the Ukrainians. Consequently, in the future they will become the second most numerous nationality in the USSR, after the Russians. The cessation in numerical growth for the Latvians and Estonians is not excluded. While in 1959 these peoples, together with the Lithuanians, were 1.6-times more numerous than the Azerbaijanis, by the year 2000 the Azerbaijanis will outnumber them by almost 2 to 1. The numbers of Mordvinians, Karelians, Komi, Udmurts, Jews and Poles will also decline.

Let us say a few words about miscalculations and inaccuracies. The part of the book where the author explains the peculiarities of the work's structure is too complex for an introduction (p 3-4). In the late 19th Century most

Turkmens let not a semi-nomadic was of life, as indicated in the work, but rather a sedentary one, combining agriculture with grazing cattle-breeding (p 21). There is an annoying misprint in Table 15, where the overall population numbers for the TSSR in 1926 is understated by almost 100,000 people (p 121).

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12322

CSO: 1830/654

NATIONAL

KOSOLAPOV BOOK ON MARXIST WORLD VIEWPOINT REVIEWED

Moscow ZNAMYA in Russian No 8, Sep 84 pp 237-240

[Review by V. Poshatayev of book "O samom glavnom. Desyat' rabot raznykh let" [On the Most Important Thing. Ten Works From Different Years] by R. Kosolapov, Moscow, Sovetskiy pisatel', 1983]

[Text] A good and remarkable quality of a sensible book, regardless of the genre in which it is written, is its power of attraction which forces the reader to go back over the pages which he has already read and to reason together with the author.

The book by R. Kosolapov, "O samom glavnom", cannot be termed as entertaining. It is devoted to questions of world viewpoint. The topic, we must say candidly, is not a light one for publicism. Not every person, even one gifted in literature, is able to handle it. A complete mastery of the material, high philosophical culture, and methodological discipline of thought -- all these are the required factors for creative success in such a complex matter. And it is notable when the author is not simply a popularizer of science, but rather a man who is on its forefront, one who has himself formulated and developed conceptual viewpoints of Marxist-Leninist social thought and who has illuminated the problematics from within. This comprises one of the "secrets" in the success of R. Kosolapov's book -- a book which is written clearly, boldly, and in a publicistic style.

The author, holding true to his position, does not simplify the problems and does not stop at half-measures. He raises the deep-seated strata in the groundwork of social science. He shows the phenomena in their interaction and in their contradictory development. The book does not have a single plot line (it's not a short story or a novel!), but the "main hero" -- man -- is ever-present. Each line, every word of this book is directed to him. The book is permeated with concern for his spiritual uplift, with the desire that he know more, understand more deeply, and see farther.

Whatever the problems -- be they theoretical or socio-political -- the author examines them through the prism of the "human factor". This is quite understandable. After all, "socialism both in theory and in practice stands out as a scientifically optimized system of social relations. The main axis and measure of this optimization is man, growing as a creative, spiritually rich, and harmonically developed personality."

In the process of "building one's own personality," as the author notes, it is necessary to always count on the ultimate realization of human capacities and never to say ahead of time: "You (I) won't be able to accomplish this." It is necessary to comprehensively experience all of one's inclinations in the benevolent atmosphere which has been created in a developed socialist society. Our time is not for the psychology of the "little man," since anyone who finds himself in the great common cause of communist creation is already great. The categorical destiny of man's conscience, duty and will must be the development of his creative capacities to an immeasurably higher degree than the growth of consumer demands."

Of course, the most basic thing has been and still remains the formulation of a scientific, Marxist-Leninist world viewpoint in the broad masses of workers, the ability and desire to understand all, even the most complex, social processes, to see one's place in the structure of the creators. The publicistic lines in R. Kosolapov's book regarding the communist ideal in the modern world and its implementation under conditions of real socialism help to permeate into the creative laboratory of the thought of the founders of scientific communism and to better and more fully evaluate that which has been achieved through the efforts of millions.

The author presents a current discussion on the essence of socialism and the criteria of its maturity and periodization of its progressive movement. The questions seem to be strictly theoretical. However, they give us the key and understanding to the degree of socio-economic maturity of the new society which we have achieved. The party warns us against interpreting the transformation of our society into a society of developed socialism as being the liberation from all problems and difficulties. Party documents in recent years have drawn a principally important conclusion regarding the fact that we are currently at the beginning of an historically prolonged phase -- the stage of developed socialism. It is within the course of its development that the gradual progress toward communism is made. Today, in connection with the preparation of the new edition of the CPSU Program, the clarification of these questions for the popular reader is of particular significance.

We would like to note that the book contains works from different years. There are the "old timers" which are over 10 years old. However, the works of the 70's and 80's read as though they had just been penned, if we exclude, of course, certain specific details which bear no principle character. Let us take for example the analysis of the social structure of society and the formulation of its classless "face". We need not comment on the current nature of this topic. Recently this was stated most definitely at a meeting of the CPSU Central Commission on preparing the new edition of the Party Program. The author was also able to demonstrate convincingly the practical bases for the increased interest of party and scientific society in current social evolution in the country and to designate the precise accents in this complex theoretical and political problem. This is particularly true for his definition of the leading role of the working class in the formulation of the social image of the citizens of the future. Without diminishing the role of the peasantry and the intelligentsia (and also without exaggerating it!) in this social "diffusion," the author stresses with great principle and party fervor the historical mission

of the working class. "A gradual re-molding into highly cultured workers of the proletarian historical type, which does not tolerate preservation of backwardness and at the same time is in principle inimical to the individualism of the intelligentsia -- this is how we may briefly characterize the shift which is taking place," concludes the author. In other words, we are speaking not of the chaotic "mixing" of all the social strata, but of a regular, goal-oriented tendency in their evolution.

The author points out one of the requirements for scientific management of the development of socialist society -- the creation of conditions which would exclude subjectivist decisions; the constant development of forms of democratic centralism; the scientific determination of the degree of centralization and the degree of decentralization in management of certain spheres of social life at each stage of the movement. This is very important. "Since it is not only principally impossible, but also harmful to program in detail from a single center the work of all enterprises and the actions of each person, a certain freedom of action for 'benevolent' chance must be provided at the periphery, and at the same time the possibility of imposing random decisions from the center must be eliminated." The increased role of democratism also leads to such shifts as a more multi-planed concept of the basic economic law of socialism: "This law more and more fully considers not only the physical and cultural needs of man, but also his needs in his independent search, his need for freedom, and his need for creativity." And we can see that the course of events, particularly the practice of socialist construction in our country in recent years, is being ever more greatly oriented toward intensifying and developing democracy, toward creating better conditions for exercising the rights and freedoms of the personality and of the labor collectives.

Everyone knows how important it is to increase the effectiveness of material and moral incentives toward labor. There seem to be no other opinions on this matter. However, certain re-examinations are sometimes encountered in scientific publications, especially in predicting the future and in defining the character of communist labor. Here the works often get ahead of themselves and make efforts to canonize the role of the moral factors of labor in the second phase of communism. The author warns against the interpretation of communism in the spirit of idealism and convincingly demonstrates that the object of personal interest is more notably becoming the labor process itself. Under the conditions of communism this will become one of the leading motives in labor activity. We have no right to be idealists, even under communism -- and we had better start thinking about this now. We have no right to ignore the needs of the people, and not only their non-work needs (needs for food products, clothing, housing, medical services, cultural entertainment, rest and recreation, etc.), but also their creative needs whose level of development may be used to judge the development of the true human social relations." This is hard to refute. Creative incentives toward labor are truly the social "energetics" of the future.

In one of the materials the author poses the question: What does it mean to be current? This question in its own way troubled leading men, of course, of the most varied epochs. However, under the conditions of socialism, especially developed socialism, it has taken on a qualitatively new aspect due to the unprecedented mass, truly all-people's character of the socio-political activity.

And a clear understand of that where there is a sense of the new -- in Marxist-Leninist party concepts, and where there is adaptation, which in reality was draped in the garb of "contemporaneity" and "originality" during all other times, is of particular significance to us. There are still time-servers, even in our day. Moreover, they have taken on precise and refined kinsmen.

The author gives a brilliant description of the modern version of the time-server -- the "nonconformist" and the "intellectual". His position is a prophylactic skepticism in regard to literally everything with which he comes into direct contact. His greatest sympathies are evoked either by those 'values' which have already been rejected by society, or by those with which he is familiar only by hear-say. This is a victim of fashion by convictions, if one may be fashionable by one's convictions, i.e., hold views which are subject to random influences. In any case, everything which actually exists and is accessible to him is bad, if only because there is nothing in the world which is fully guaranteed against someone's critical perception. Only "something else, something sharp" is good, and in this sense our time-server is a "romantic."

Other representatives of such "romanticism", as it is clear from the book, may occupy the position of "standing in the way of progress". They contrapose the development of industrial production against the fate of folk art. In urbanization and restructuring of the rural way of life after the urban pattern they see the end of the "village idyll". They interpret the process of phasing out religious prejudices as the onset of amorality and lack of spiritualism. There are also cases of distortion of the historical truth, efforts to justify or even elevate true reactionaries or simply those public activists of the past who had compromised themselves in the eyes of society. Such authors have a clearly lame historical recollection. They are justly rebuked in R. Kosolapov's book.

The pages in the book dealing with the Soviet patriot will not leave the reader indifferent. The author examines this topic in close unity with a caring attitude toward our spiritual heritage. Soviet patriotism, he stresses, is a spiritual reality which is principally new in the history of mankind and which is defined by socialist productive relations and by the very Soviet collectivist and internationalist form of life. This is not simply a love for the place where one was born, for the "homeland aspen groves", for the land of one's forefathers, although this feeling too is by no means belittled in the Soviet man. It is also a boundless devotion to the socialist Homeland, a readiness to fight for and develop the social conquests of the workers, a love for the heroic history of our country's peoples, a pride in its unprecedented achievements.

In this plane, an extensive and exacting historical recollection which separates out all the best that has been accumulated by preceding generations is a mandatory condition for the continuity of truly patriotic traditions. And we cannot help but agree with the sharp criticism of those authors who try to drag outdated historical litter into the "sacred patriotic arsenal" and to introduce the odious personalities of the past. The Soviet people are rich in truly patriotic, internationalistic traditions. They do not need to have reality embellished nor, of course, to have it diminished, or especially to have it smeared in dirty colors. Not to remain indifferent to any such efforts,

and to give them their deserved rebuke -- this too is a patriotic duty. And R. Kosolapov gives an example of party spirit and true citizenship in the evaluation of negative manifestations.

The keen eye of the publicist has helped the author to see the image of Hamlet in a new light, to see this classical hero not as a troubled, but as a strong, decisive, uncompromisingly active personality. We are speaking not of "giving contemporaneity" to that which belongs to history, but of a new and publicistic outlook of the literary hero. I would say even a social and social-moral outlook.

This is also the approach which he took to Blok, to the evaluation of his creative path and life choice at the complex stage of the revolutionary shift of the epoch. The author concludes his remarks on Blok with judgements which are significant, as he stresses, not only for an artist, but also for any conscientious citizen. Let us present them in their entirety. These are the opinions:

--in order to select the proper course in life and in creativity, it is necessary to be with one's entire essence the connection between times and, knowing that we act in the present, nevertheless always remember that this very present is part of the unity of the continuously escaping past and the ever forthcoming future;

--in order to achieve anything worthwhile and deserving of widespread recognition, one must know how to decisively cast off all that is petty and outdated, to reject the coziness and conditionalities of successful living which suck one in and lull one to sleep, and to reject personal and group predilections if they begin to contradict social interests in the least. All this is without guarantee or compensation, except for the opportunity of breathing the historical wind;

--in order not to be false in creativity and in life, not to betray the "music" (the music of the world orchestra--V.P.), one must always be in the field of magnetic attraction formed by the leading class of current times -- the proletariat. One must feel the "musicality" of its scientific ideology and the activity of its revolutionary avant-garde which join this ideology with the practical activity of the masses.

Precise, clear lines. Such is all the publicism of R. Kosolapov.

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CSO: 1800/521

NATIONAL

REPORT ON VORONSKIY BIRTH CENTENARY

[Editorial Report] Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian on 5 September carries on page 7 a 1,000-word article by Yevgeniy Sidorov, chairman of the commission for A. K. Voronskiy's literary heritage, entitled "Living Thought" and pegged to the birth centenary of literary critic A. K. Voronskiy.

Having summarized Voronskiy's life and career after joining the party in 1904, Sidorov says that "unfortunately, in the process of our discussion on prose and artistic synthesis, which took place 10 years ago, no one recalled Voronskiy's name (including the author of these lines)," although "many of Voronskiy's ideas have lived on beyond their time because they anticipate the future. They germinated in the soil and fate of their time, but have stretched toward us, anticipating important trends in literary development.

"In his article 'On Industrialization and on Art' (1928), Voronskiy wrote about substantial shortcomings in the fiction and poetry devoted to, as we would put it today, the 'production' subject," an attitude described by Sidorov.

As "topical today, too; it is not as if we have scored many literary successes in depicting the spirit and mentality of the working man who is the main force and foundation of the society of developed socialism."

"We will not, however, try to put right A. K. Voronskiy's complex path with the help of hindsight. He also succumbed to confusions (he failed to understand and underestimated the mature V. Mayakovskiy and at one time held unjustifiedly skeptical views regarding the very potential of the vast proletarian art during the transition period). In 1921-1927 Voronskiy drew close to the Trotskyite opposition, was expelled from the party, and later reinstated to its ranks."

Without mentioning how or when Voronskiy died, the author concludes: "the ideological and literary struggle of the twenties became part of history a long time ago. But A. K. Voronskiy's living thought continues to work today."

No further processing planned.

CSO: 1800/537

REGIONAL

GEORGIAN CC TAKES STOCK OF ECONOMY, URGES LABOR DISCIPLINE

Overview of Economy

Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 2 Aug 84 p 1

[Article: "In the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] At its regular session, the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau examined a number of questions associated with the implementation of school reform in light of the decisions of the April (1984) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.

Measures developed by the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers were adopted, dealing with the further development of the general secondary education of the youth and the improvement of operating conditions of the general education school, as well as with the development of labor training, education, and professional orientation of school children and the organization of their socially beneficial productive labor. Decisions were made on improving the preparation and increasing the level of training of pedagogical personnel within the system of education and vocational-technical training, as well as on improving their working and living conditions and increasing the wages of teachers and other public education workers.

The Bureau of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, in conjunction with the republic's Council of Ministers, outlined a series of measures for improving the nutrition of children of various age groups. It was pointed out at the meeting that, despite certain shifts, the production of food products for infants and the organization of nutrition for pupils of kindergartens and nursery schools, child care homes, for students at boarding schools and general education schools, and for children in health care institutions are characterized by serious shortcomings. Questions were posed with all acuteness regarding the increased personal responsibility of party raykom secretaries and directors of soviet organs, ministries and departments who do not give constant attention to the organization of childhood nutrition or to the output of high quality food products in the necessary assortment and their supply to children's institutions.

It was suggested to the party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms that they mobilize the efforts of party, soviet, professional union and other public organizations

and labor collectives toward improving the state of nutrition for children, and that they increase the responsibility of directors of industrial enterprises, retail trade and public catering to school, preschool, health care and medical institutions for creating proper order in this important state matter.

Having heard the report by Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Secretary, comrade D. I. Patiashvili, on the course of procurement of coarse and grassy fodder in the republic's public farms, the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee noted that the measures for increasing the volumes of fodder production which are being implemented by local party, soviet and agricultural organs are on the whole bringing favorable results. At the same time it was indicated that many farms still have not completed the first grass harvest, are falling behind in their rate of stocking silos, and are not performing work satisfactorily in sowing late-summer crops. The reduced control over the quality of procured fodder gives particular cause for alarm. The adopted resolution focuses the attention of chairman of the republic production-scientific association "Gruzel'khozkhimiya", comrade D. M. Kolelishvili, as well as the chairmen of the Lagodekhi, Kvareli and Mtskheta RAPO [regional agricultural production associations] comrades A. A. Tsintsadze, Yu. I. Lomidze and D. G. Sekhniashvili on the inadmissibility of weakening control over the quality of procured fodder.

It has been proposed to the party, soviet and economic management organs of the republic that they take measures for sharply accelerating the rate of fodder procurement, giving particular attention to its quality and increasing the personal responsibility of the farm managers for providing cattle with fodder in the necessary volume.

The Bureau of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee heard the information presented by GSSR Minister of Light Industry, comrade G. P. Gamtsemlidze, on the measures for improving the quality of manufactured production in response to the critical comments contained in the article "Quality of Products and Standards" published in PRAVDA on 4 June 1984.

Having noted serious shortcomings in work on improving quality and expanding the assortment of manufactured products, the GCP Central Committee bureau demanded that the responsibility of ministry directors be increased for strict adherence to standards, that conditions of strict answerability be imposed in regard to workers of all ranks for the output of products which meet high consumer standards, and that a systemic character be given to the struggle for improving the quality of products.

The meeting discussed the work of party, soviet and administrative organs in the boundary regions of the republic on fulfilling the statutes of the law, "On the USSR State Boundary." The need was noted for further intensification of the activity of volunteer people's detachments and for involvement of all of society in the border regions in the work of guarding the USSR state border, in strengthening the interaction of border guards with the local population, and in intensifying patronage ties.

The Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Secretariat, having heard the information presented by Secretary of the Tbilisi Gorkom, Georgian Communist Party, comrade Z. Sh. Meskhishvili, on the organizational work performed by the party gorkom on the management of capital construction, noted that the capital's party organization is taking effective measures for unconditional fulfillment of tasks for the operational introduction of fixed capital and assimilation of capital investments.

The party gorkom has been faced with the task of broadly expanding the struggle for further strengthening state technological and labor discipline in the construction subsections, for facilitating the improvement of their financial position, and for more systemically solving the problems of scientific organization of labor, giving particular attention to improving the quality of construction.

Having discussed the information presented by the director of the Georgian Industrial Leather Footwear Association, comrade S. S. Turmanidze, on the course of implementation of bilateral measures taken for the development of the footwear production association "Isani", and on the results of its activity for the elapsed period, the GCP Central Committee Secretariat indicated that the GSSR Ministry of Light Industry has recently and noticeably stepped up work on the development of the leather footwear sector, technical retooling of the enterprises, expansion of the assortment and improvement of footwear quality. At the same time it was stressed that energetic measures are not being taken to ensure the widespread introduction of the brigade form of labor organization and the reduction of above-norm remnants. It was recommended that the GCP obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms, the GSSR Ministry of Light Industry, and the primary party organizations of the footwear industry enterprises intensify their control over the fulfillment of measures provided in bilateral agreements, improve work with the personnel of all sectors, and perform an in-depth analysis of the positive as well as the negative tendencies in the operation of the enterprises within the sector.

The meeting of the GCP Central Committee Bureau and Secretariat also examined a number of other questions associated with the socio-political and economic life of the republic.

Disciplined, Stable Cadres Needed

Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 3 Aug 84 p 1

[CruzINFORM article: "A Firm Rebuff to Breaches of Discipline"]

[Text] At its regular meeting, the Bureau of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee discussed measures for strengthening labor discipline and reducing personnel turnover in the republic's national economy. The information of the Republic Headquarters on Strengthening Labor Discipline and Reducing Personnel Turnover was presented by Secretary of the Georgian Council of Professional Unions L. S. Kharbediya.

The adopted resolution notes that the work performed by the party, soviet, economic management and professional union organs of the Georgian SSR on the effective application of labor resources is bringing positive results. With the creation of effective headquarters on problems of labor discipline in the autonomous republics, oblasts, cities and rayons and republic sectorial committees, ministries and departments, at enterprises and organizations, an effective form of comprehensive solution to the problems presented by the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers and the VTsSPS [All-Union Central Council of Professional Unions] has been established. These problems deal with the application of labor resources and with strengthening order in production. The professional unions are constantly improving their style and methods of influencing the improvement in organization of the labor process, the intensification of the struggle against disciplinary infractions, personnel turnover and loss of work time. In its operation, the republic headquarters has confirmed the practice of jointly developing tasks on the effective application of labor resources in sectors of the national economy in conjunction with the republic's planning organs.

As a result of the measures implemented in conjunction with the economic management organs, the tendency has been noted in the past 3 years toward strengthening of labor discipline and continued reduction in worker turnover and production time losses. The situation with labor discipline and securement of the work force in production has improved in the light, meat and dairy, lumber, wood processing, chemical, fruit and vegetable and certain other sectors of industry, at enterprises and organizations within the republic's capital and in the cities of Rustavi, Poti, Chiatura, Gori, and a number of rayons.

At the same time, in other regions, at some enterprises, farms and organizations the situation leaves something to be desired. This is true of the labor collectives within the system of the Georgian SSR State Committee on Agricultural Production, the USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification, the republic Ministry of the Building Materials Industry, the "Gruzugol" [Georgia Coal] Production Association, and others.

An analysis shows that the most important reasons for voluntary dismissal of personnel and disruption of labor discipline are dissatisfaction with working conditions and the frequent assignment of workers and personnel outside their specialty. This has largely been a factor in the high level of personnel turnover and infractions of discipline among the youth. These indicators are presently three to four times higher than for the older age groups.

It is necessary to accelerate the introduction of the brigade form of labor organization and stimulation as an effective form of strengthening production discipline and reducing worker turnover. It was stressed that along with increasing the answerability of those who commit infractions, it is also necessary to encourage more effectively the better labor collectives and individual workers.

The Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau has called for the party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms to perform a more in-depth analysis of the work of party committees. economic managers and professional union organizations on strengthening discipline, reducing the personnel turnover and losses in work time, and developing and implementing specific measures for improving the situation. It has been proposed that the work of the appropriate regional and sectorial headquarters be stepped up, giving particular attention to the identification and elimination of the reasons facilitating disruption of order in production. The oblast professional union councils and republic committees have been told that they must more actively and skillfully mobilize the labor collectives toward the struggle against infractions in labor discipline, personnel turnover and work time losses, and in doing so must make more extensive use of the broad capacities of brigade organization and labor stimulation, as well as all forms and methods of professional union work.

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REGIONAL

DISCIPLINE CAMPAIGN, MORAL DEVELOPMENT EXAMINED

AzSSR Academy of Sciences View

Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 8 Jul 84 pp 2-3

[Article by Professor Z. Geyushev, doctor of philosophical sciences and corresponding member of the Azerbaijan SSR Academy of Sciences: "The Discipline of Trust"]

[Text] In the struggle for socialism and communism the unquestionable moral advantage has always been on our side. And today the moral force of Soviet society remains one of the important conditions of our successes. K.U. Chernenko

In our day, when the nurturing of the harmonious, comprehensively developed personality is one of the platform tasks of the Party and an important condition for the improvement of developed socialism, the effective and skillful utilization of the entire moral potential of the working people and of all forms and methods of ideological activity acquires first-rank significance.

Recent party documents have emphasized repeatedly that socialism is characterized by the kind of social climate in which a person feels confident about tomorrow, in which a collectivist spirit, mutual understanding and mutual assistance, moral health and social optimism dominate. In the aggregate, all this signifies the new, socialist quality of the working people's life, which does not amount to material comfort only; instead it encompasses the entire spectrum of full-blooded human life. In this spectrum moral health has a special place; without it the normal development of our society is unthinkable.

A healthy moral climate is not an abstract concept; it is not a starry-eyed dream, but the essential beginning of socialist society. It is the basis for social and personal optimism, for moral harmony and the creative spirit of our people. It is no accident that the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress, the 30th Congress of the Azerbaijan Communist Party (ACP), the plenums of

the CPSU Central Committee and the ACP Central Committee have put forward as a very important task the creation of a healthy moral climate in labor collectives.

The achievement of a healthy moral climate is a complex and multi-faceted problem, which encompasses all spheres of human activity and behavior.

Trust is one of the most important components which ensures the moral health of a collective. Trust is great moral force, an important lever of moral development. It occupies an exceptional place in the moral potential of the people. It is no accident that in the history of ethical teachings trust is considered to be a sign of "generosity of the soul," "greatness of the spirit," "the glue of people's life together," etc.

Trust and mutual understanding have frequently been subjected to sharp deformation in class-antagonistic societies. In the course of historical development, the emergence of private property has meant that the opposition of class interests led to violence, oppression and exploitation. Capital, which was acquired by deceit, cheating and crime, becomes an instrument for the further enslavement of the masses. In capitalist society there can be talk about trust only among proletarians who join together and express solidarity in the struggle against the exploiters. The coming together of capitalists in associations, companies and trusts creates only the illusion of an intra-class peace because it is based not on trust, but on the interests of individual advantage and selfishness. It is only with the victory of socialism that human relations based on trust extend to all of society. Under conditions of mature, developed socialism, trust as the result of growing consciousness on the part of society's members acquires particular significance in the everyday reciprocal relations among people, in labor and in daily life.

Without genuine trust among people progress is unthinkable in any area of the social and moral life of our society. In considering trust on a socio-economic and moral level, V.I. Lenin at the very dawn of Soviet power noted with brilliant intuition that as it matures socialism will be based on the "discipline of trust."

Historical experience has fully confirmed this prediction. The discipline of trust has become a powerful force in the development of socio-economic and moral life our society at the present stage. In the complex interrelations among people in labor collectives and in daily life, the discipline of trust is a very important link and moving force which forms the basis of a moral climate in the collective.

With the adoption of the Law Concerning Labor Collectives, all the indoctrination work has been based on the consciousness of

the masses. The universal confirmation of the discipline of trust and the strict observance of this discipline by everyone would yield an enormous socio-economic effect: the cumbersome monitoring apparatus would be sharply reduced, the reasons for production conflicts would be eliminated and in this way significant growth in labor productivity would be achieved, as would savings of time and materials: violations of discipline in all of its manifestations and aspects would be reduced to zero.

As noted in the CPSU Central Committee decree "Concerning the Further Development and Improvement of Effectiveness in the Brigade Form of Organization and the Stimulation of Labor in Industry," at the present time the brigades play an ever growing role in the further intensification of social production and in the fulfillment of the 26th Party Congress decisions and the latest plenums of the CPSU Central Committee; they are becoming the basic production and social unit of the labor collectives. It is well known that the work of the brigades is based wholly and completely on the discipline of trust, on the mutual assistance and on the mutual gain of all of its members. Without this kind of mutual trust and cohesion it is impossible to talk seriously about the successful operation of these brigades.

However, one should not confuse trustfulness with gullibility. When the discussion concerns the moral force of trust, the question always arises: "Whom can one trust?" The Marxist Leninist ethic is based on the premise that trust in people by no means signifies blind faith. It presumes mutual responsibility, reliability and honesty. The well known saying: "Trust and check" has important moral significance. Checking and monitoring fulfillment does not contradict the ethics of socialism. Consideration should be given to the premise that one can and needs to believe only honest, reliable people, that trust is gained by an individual's reliability soundness.

The question arises: "How can a person's degree of reliability be determined?" Most often on the basis of experience gained in interpersonal contact and the individual's interaction with society. Even ordinary, everyday experience suggests who at the critical moment, when the choice of action involves the maximum sacrifice, will pass the test with flying colors; who, under conditions of a working partnership will never let you down; who will fulfill his obligations irreproachably and who truly deserves unlimited trust. In short, honesty and responsibility in meeting one's obligations are the basic measures of a person's reliability and internal discipline. Reliability is an important indication of personality; losing it is the equivalent of losing one's personality itself. Reliability is not a gift of nature; it is developed by a person's will and character. Every person forges his own character and strengthens his own will and self-

discipline. It was Shakespeare who said: "Our personality is the garden, but our will is its gardener."

Self-improvement must follow in the same channel as all Party, ideological and mass-political activities. The work of perfecting developed socialism, of confirming and consolidating the discipline of trust is linked with an uncompromising struggle against the antipodes of our ethics, against negative phenomena. Especially against phenomena such as deceit, eye-washing and bribery. Not for a minute should it be forgotten that these negative phenomena not only inflict enormous material-economic damage on a nation-wide scale, but like metastases, which penetrate the body of society, they destroy the bases of trust and kill people's belief in justice.

Communists and employees in positions of leadership have a particular role to play in strengthening the discipline of trust. They are called upon to establish the tone and to set a suitable example at work; to give all their strength to the development of the economy and social relations and to the improvement of the life of the people; and to follow high Leninist principles in everything they do. This was once again firmly reiterated from the platform of the recent plenum of the ACP Central Committee.

One of the most important criteria of reliability and personal integrity is whether one keeps one's word or promise and meets one's obligations. Trust and reliability as moral qualities are inalienable from loyalty, which means immutable adherence to the cause of society and the Party, the strict fulfillment of one's assigned obligations and constancy in relations with other people. In the production unit this may mean as well the rigorous fulfillment of contracts concerning deliveries and a business-like partnership with suppliers and other related enterprises.

Communist ethics require the strict fulfillment of the obligations which one has undertaken both in personal relations and with regard to society. A frivolous attitude to one's word or promise is incompatible with the norms of communist ethics. This was emphasized with particular force in the decisions of the June and December (1983), the February and April (1984) plenums of the CPSU Central Committee and the speeches of Comrade K.U. Chernenko. The unity of word and deed is one of the most important reserves for the perfection of our socialist democracy at all levels of state and public life; it is a powerful means for instilling values in people.

Everyone knows from personal experience the strength and power of the word: "You can kill with a word, you can save with a word, you can command a regiment with a word." The people have always considered the failure to keep one's word or promise to be one of the most despicable vices; the people have put the willingness

to fulfill one's duty on a pedestal as one of the most important virtues.

Reliability, faithfulness, truthfulness, sincerity, honesty and a responsible attitude toward one's obligations--those are the characteristics of a truly whole individual which give him the right to acquire the trust and respect of his comrades.

The moral purity of the individual, like a healthy climate of trust and reliability in the collective, is the result of the efforts of all the members of that collective: from the leader to the rank and file worker. The collective is sometimes compared to a well-tuned orchestra, in which everyone plays his own instrument but follows the same melody. This analogy, of course, is relative, but in our view, it is basically successful. The collective is not an accidental collection of people, and it is not some kind of impersonal mass; it is a unity of like-minded people, joined together and disciplined by the community of goals and joint activities. In order to create a pure, healthy atmosphere in a collective every person must be able to merge his own life with the life of the collective, to interweave his own personal interests with those of the community. This not only creates harmonious interrelations in the collective, but it also ensures the great and vital optimism of each of its members, enriches personal life and develops a person's active life position.

K. Marx and F. Engels wrote in the book "German Ideology": "Only in the collective does the individual receive the means which provide him the opportunity for all-around development of his inclinations and consequently, only in the collective is personal freedom possible." When bourgeois ideologists, as well as anti-Soviet and anti-Marxist thinkers of all stripes, speak out against our morals, they claim that Marxists, who preach collectivism, supposedly "kill individuality." This is slander. Socialism does not destroy the individual; on the contrary, it contributes to the perfection of the individual in the collective. The person who merges with the collective does not lose his individuality, but achieves within it a higher degree of consciousness and perfection. He becomes a genuine person only within the collective, only among people. It is precisely participation in public production which enables the individual to work out the correct moral attitude towards people and towards life. M. Gorkiy was right when he wrote: "No other force makes a person great and wise as does the force of labor--collective, friendly, free labor... The collective creates a person with a completely different type of individual psyche, with a more active, steadfast and energetic will to action, with a will to build life from the will of the collective."

Individualism, a tendency to move away from people and self-isolation bring with them the disintegration of the individual. Society and the collective develop the individual, putting before him high goals and entrusting him with various means and materials to achieve this goal. Life and work in the collective, in close association and cooperation with other people, provide an individual with the fullness of spiritual freedom and free his creative potential. Work in the collective is one of the most important moral obligations and a necessary condition of personal happiness.

He who does not work in a collective and who is deprived of the trust and respect of his comrades has not yet become a genuine citizen of the country; he has not developed as an individual. However, the humane, educational force of the socialist collective consists precisely in that it does not alienate from itself even that person who tries to set his individual interests against those of the community. Patiently, wisely and persistently the collective develops in the person the need to serve society. At the same time trusting the person who has in the past committed crimes and structuring people's interaction with him in order to straighten him out and return him to the collective as a full member become crucial in the process of reforming character and behavior. The collective and social nature of our life inevitably leads to an understanding of the unity between great trust in every person and a high level of demands made on every person.

Without a profound consciousness of the need to serve society and the steadfast fulfillment of this obligation, a person cannot achieve success in any area of life's activities; without it one cannot talk about the perfection and integrity of the individual. The desire to win trust and respect from one's comrades in the collective must be a vital need for every person. Only then can the moral health and a pure moral climate of mutual trust and reliability in the collective be ensured. The path which leads to the heights of moral perfection is reached through the mutual efforts of people who are firmly linked together by the discipline of trust, mutual responsibility and demand.

AzSSR MVD Minister Interview

Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 11 Jul 84 p 3

[Interview with D.D. Veliyev, Azerbaijan SSR minister of internal affairs and major general in the internal service, by BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY correspondent E. Aliyev, date and place not given: "Our Common Concern"]

[Text] At present an uncompromising struggle is being waged in our republic, as it is

throughout the country, to strengthen labor, production, plan and state discipline and socialist law and order. It is natural that the internal affairs organs are participating actively in this nationwide struggle for the observance of order everywhere and in everything. In this connection, a BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY correspondent asked D.D. Veliyev, major general in the internal service and Azerbaijan SSR minister of internal affairs, to answer a series of questions.

[Question] First of all, Dzhafer Dzhebrailovich, tell me, please, about the participation by the militia organs in the large amount of work which is being carried out in our country to strengthen law and order.

[Answer] I will begin by talking about how the organs for the protection of the law are interacting to prevent and eliminate legal infractions. Along with the office of the public prosecutor, the courts and the organs of justice, the militia employees are helping to plan specific measures to combat violations of the law and especially to prevent them. Further, a plan is being set out for individual types of infractions. We are all participating in the work of the permanently functioning coordination council, which is part of the Azerbaijan Communist Party (ACP) Central Committee and which constantly keeps these questions in its field of vision. As a result, the republic, and in particular the cities of Baku, Sumgait and a majority of the rayons, have experienced fewer infractions of the law this year, especially serious infractions and--this is very important--infractions committed by minors.

The struggle against theft, bribery and speculation has been stepped up. With the help of citizens, a number of dangerous groups of plunderers and speculators have been exposed. But at the same time in certain regions of the republic, such as the Nakhichevan ASSR and the cities of Ali-Bayramly, Mingechaur, Khachmasskiy and certain others, the work of preventing legal infractions and of eliminating the causes and conditions which contribute to them is not being carried out at the necessary level. The fault here lies primarily with the internal affairs organs. The republic's ministry of internal affairs, together with the local party and soviet organs, are taking measures to ensure the comprehensive improvement of educational and preventive work in the light of the directions of the ACP Central Committee.

[Question] Loafers, drifters, drunkards and parasites justifiably arouse the anger of the people. It would be good to hear from you, Comrade Minister, about what the internal affairs organs

are doing to step up the campaign against such an evil as parasitism.

[Answer] Yes, unfortunately, instances of intentional evasion of socially useful work by people who are completely healthy and able to work are still not rare. Some of these evaders derive non-labor incomes from speculation and theft, some drink heavily and commit crimes of hooliganism. Crimes of this kind have been registered in the Nasiminskiy and Oktyabrskiy rayons of Baku, in Kirovabad, Mingecheur and in the Geokchayskiy, Kedabekskiy and certain other rayons.

Some people, especially certain residents of the Kubinskiy, Lenkoranskiy, Geokchayskiy and Shamkhorskiy rayons who are not monitored by the local organs, leave their primary place of work and "tour" the cities of our country, engaging in the sale of agricultural products, sometimes at speculative prices. Last year alone employees of the Ministry of Internal Affairs detained more than 500 such citizens, against whom measures were taken according to the established legal procedure. Appropriate measures were taken against the officials of rural soviet ispolkoms, kolkhozes, sovkhozes, enterprises and organizations of district militia inspectors who had not been able to eliminate the anti-social behavior of the parasites.

In accordance with Party and government decisions, the struggle against parasites has been stepped up recently. Measures have been taken to ensure that the internal affairs organs, as well as the job-placement departments of the city and rayon ispolkoms, keep track of these people. A procedure has been set up to see that they stay at their jobs, and a list of enterprises to which they may be sent has been drawn up. Increased legal measures have been taken against those who intentionally evade socially useful labor.

When people who formerly evaded work are hired, we ask the officials of the employing ministries, agencies, enterprises, organizations, enterprises and institutions to assign them senior workers or mentors to create around them an atmosphere in which they would not feel alienated from the collective and which would help them enter the working environment more rapidly.

It should be said that in a number of the republic's cities and rayons the struggle against people who lead an anti-social, parasitical way of life is conducted mainly by the militia forces, who sometimes must literally overcome the opposition of the management at the enterprises to which the Soviets of People's Deputies have sent people who evade work. For example, the following have used various pretexts to avoid hiring such people: the Baku Repair-Mechanical Plant imeni 26 bakinskikh komissarov, the Plant imeni Parizhskoy Kommuny, the Plant imeni Leytenant

Shmidta, the Bakinskiy Rabochiy Plant and others. And some ispolkoms of the local soviets, despite official directions, refuse to do this.

[Question] Do the district militia inspectors have a great role to play in the matter of protecting social order?

[Answer] The district inspector is the militia representative who is closest to the population; it is his job to know the residents of his district well in order to discover in good time those from whom one can expect antisocial actions and to take measures to prevent them. Discovering and eliminating the causes which contribute to infractions of the law constitute the main aspects of the district inspector's job.

However, the district inspectors are frequently used for other purposes; they are given assignments which are not related to service for the public. A firm policy has now been established; it calls for a fundamental improvement in the work of the district inspectors, for an increase in their role and their responsibility for the protection of law and order and in the struggle against legal infractions. In all places they have been released from the performance of functions which are not a part of their job. Their main efforts have been concentrated on maintaining social order, on preventing drunkenness, hooliganism, parasitism and other legal infractions.

We are carrying out a special certification of district inspectors, and some of them have been fired due to unsuitability. Practical measures have been implemented to eliminate inadequacies in the work of the district inspectors, to raise the level of their political and professional knowledge, and to strengthen their links with the public. It has been necessary to correct some of the ROVD (rayon division of internal affairs) heads, who do not understand the role of the sector inspectors. These and other measures have contributed to a further strengthening of law and order in the cities and other settled areas, to a reduction in the number of legal infractions, complaints and statements related to the activities of the district inspectors.

Another problem which requires a solution concerns the working conditions of the district inspectors. It is no secret that sometimes the premises in which the centers for the protection of social order are located are unsuitable for work and are not appropriately equipped. This reproach we address to the ispolkoms of the local soviets.

[Question] What measures are being taken by the militia organs to strengthen discipline on transportation in the broadest sense?

[Answer] We have analyzed thoroughly the state of affairs with regard to accidents and the state of work with personnel from the GAI (State Automobile Inspection); we have worked out and are implementing comprehensive measures to carry out the Party decisions on this question. All employees of the road patrol service are undergoing certification. This service has been strengthened through the addition of communists and Komsomol members sent to us by the Party and Komsomol organs.

A great deal of attention is being devoted to improving the ideological-moral indoctrination and vocational mastery of colleagues from the GAI. Specialized volunteer people's patrols and other public groups are being utilized more actively now. In the republic the number of road-transportation accidents has declined for the second year in a row.

Of course this does not mean that everything has been done already. The work of the GAI and of certain of its employees still continues to have many flaws, which we are still working to eliminate.

However, discipline on the streets and roads depends not only on the activities of the GAI. The self-discipline of drivers (especially drivers of private cars) and pedestrians is also needed. Alas, they do not always feel responsibility for order on the streets, mistakenly thinking that this is the concern of GAI employees alone.

Strengthening law and order and socialist legality is a state-wide task. It requires a goal-oriented, comprehensive approach and unity of action by the organs for protection of the law and by the community at large.

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